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# ***JPRS Report***

## **Soviet Union**

### ***Political Affairs***

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Effective 1 June 1987 JPRS reports will have a new cover design and color, and some reports will have a different title and format. Some of the color changes may be implemented earlier if existing supplies of stock are depleted.

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4 JUNE 1987

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PARTY, STATE AFFAIRS

KAZAKH COMMUNISTS DEBATE 'DECEMBER EVENTS'

PM071135 Moscow PRAVDA In Russian 4 Apr 87 First Edition p 3

[Discussion chaired by PRAVDA special correspondents T. Yesilbayev and A. Petrushov, involving V.A. Kuzmenko, member of the Kazakh Communist Party Central Committee Buro and milkmaid at the "Kamenskiy" State Breeding Plant; Doctor of Philosophical Sciences M.M. Suzhikov, chief of the Theory of Scientific Communism Section at the Kazakh SSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Philosophy and Law; and M. Shegebayev, member of Alma-Ata's Sovetskiy Party Ryakom Buro and team leader at a heavy machine building plant: "For Purity in Life. Comments on Readers' Letters by a Member of the Kazakh Communist Party Central Committee Buro, a Scientist, and a Team Leader"]

[Text] Alma-Ata--PRAVDA's editorial office mail contains numerous letters raising questions about the December events in Alma-Ata and what preceded them. Readers express their concern and demand serious analysis and principled evaluation of the occurrences.

The editorial office asked authoritative communists from the republic to answer the complex questions from readers.

Let us meet the participants in the discussion.

Valentina Alekseyevna Kuzmenko, member of the Kazakh Communist Party Central Committee Buro and milkmaid at the "Kamenskiy" State Breeding Plant.

Doctor of Philosophical Sciences Marat Mukhametkaliyevich Suzhikov, chief of the Theory of Scientific Communism Department at the Kazakh SSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Philosophy and Law.

Maden Shegebayev, member of Alma-Ata's Sovetskiy Party Raykom Buro and team leader at a heavy machine building plant.

Decline of Authority

"If you were to take a closer look, you'd automatically think: The occurrences in Alma-Ata are a sign of total loss of confidence in those who held the helm of the republic for years on end."

(From R. Vakhitov's letter)

V. Kuzmenko: A correct conclusion! What is, for example, the foundation of a father's or a mother's genuine authority? No, it is not fear--it is the conscience of family members. This requires respect, and respect can be earned only through personal example: justice, industry, kindness, consistency. The opposite also applies: Wherever these are lacking, it is fear, deception, and muddle that flourish. This is exactly what happens also in the larger cells of society.

M. Suzhikov: Well said. Society is not like a tree, its roots stretch both downwards and upwards. And if the circulation vessels linking the upper and lower roots are clogged by arbitrary rule, dogmatism, or hypocrisy, this will inevitably cause thrombosis. Let us recall how various conferences and meetings were held in our republic. A parade of glorification. Every single speech--a solo performance of eulogy. The impression that was created was that all problems had been solved. But in reality? Failures in the economy, "excesses" in the social sphere, errors in ideological work. In other words, there was plenty of idle talk while everything was bursting at the seams. That was how some people maintained their authority.

M. Shegebayev: Many people thought otherwise. I've spent 12 years at the plant and have only just been given a room in the small families hostel. Others don't even have that. Just imagine how the workers feel when there are more than 500 people on the waiting list for housing. And the store shelves are empty.

V. Kuzmenko: The situation in agriculture was deteriorating, and yet the trumpets were being blown louder and louder. How much noise was made when the republic sold billions of quintals of grain to the state! Convert it into metric tons, however, and all you have is 16 million. And not as if it happened every year, either; quintals by the billion were the exception rather than the rule.

The recent Kazakh Communist Party Central Committee plenum harshly condemned the "star menia" which cost the rural population so dearly. Not only feed grain, but at times even seed grain was being shoveled away from kolkhozes and sovkhoses. And the result was that the feed sector was brought to the end of its tether. It could not even cope with deliveries to all-union stocks. As a whole, agricultural yields declined: kolkhoz and sovkhos fixed assets increased fivefold in the last 20 years, but the gross output production increased only 1.4 times.

M. Suzhikov: Bitter statistics. Now it is clear why it was being passed over in silence.

M. Shegebayev: Much was being concealed from people. All those residences, exclusive hotels, cottages, hunting lodges. With conservatories, pools, and open fireplaces. Only for the chosen few. And, to top it all, what wonderful words were said by A. Askarov, former first secretary of Chimkent Obkom, about the struggle against negative phenomena, how he condemned

immodesty, money-grubbing, and nationalist remnants of the past! But in the process of selecting cadres he himself separated Kazakhs into families and tribes and gave preference to members of his family or people from his home town.

M. Suzhikov: Now we can see the true face of those whose "convictions go no deeper than the tip of their tongue," to use V.I. Lenin's well-known expression. The abuses are being made public. And this is correct!

M. Shegebayev: For example, light has been thrown on secret aspects of the lives of D. Kunayev's former aides D. Bekezhanov and V. Vladimirov, as well as other people who were close to him. They have been expelled from the party, ousted from leadership positions, and criminal proceedings have been started against some of them. Many people had held unambiguous opinions about them for a long time, however. Way back Bekezhanov was dubbed a "suspect individual," capable of any base deed for the sake of profit.

M. Suzhikov: This is true: people quailed before them, tolerated their arbitrary actions, feared their revenge, but did not respect them and actually despised them. That same Vladimirov plagiarized his literary works and had them published in large print runs. Anyone who dared to edit his "masterpieces" was castigated with criticism in plenum and congress reports, and this was followed by dismissal from work and the instigation of party proceedings.

M. Shegebayev: Essentially the entire close circle of D. Kunayev, former first secretary of the republic Communist Party Central Committee, was condemned by people. This, of course, extended to [Kunayev] himself. Paradoxical as it may appear, the more high honors he received the more he lost his authority. People were asking: "Why? For what services?" There was the most disapproving talk about his immodest jubilee celebrations. What was the point of installing his bust as twice hero of labor only 50 meters away from his apartment, or filling an entire block with fountains and flower beds? No, none of this added to his authority.

M. Shegebayev: Marat Mukhametkaliyevich, I seem to recall a phenomenon in physics called the collapse of a star?

M. Suzhikov: Yes. According to the general theory of relativity, a gravitational instability develops when a star's mass is 2 to 3 times larger than the mass of the sun, the star begins to contract, and this process ends with the creation of a black hole.

M. Shegebayev: This is what I was driving at. We witnessed such a collapse in the authority of some leaders. But how can you speak of authority when corruption, duplicity, and overbearing arrogance had been blown up to unimaginable size. Only black holes are left. It was no accident that participants in the Alma-Ata riots did not shout even once: "Bring back Kunayev! We want Askarov!" [Shegebayev ends]

## Truth Will Out

"Our children grew up in Taldy-Kurgan Oblast. They went to school together with children from other nationalities. They lived together, just as we adults did. No matter what you say, we do not believe that the sad Alma-Ata events were caused by hostility toward Russians or representatives of some other peoples--a hostility that has originated goodness knows where."

(From the Lugov family's letter)

M. Suzhikov: There are very many similar letters. Good words were written about the republic by I. Khrushchev from Voronezh, P. Dyachenko from Kuybyshev, A. Abilov from the Kustanay region....

M. Shegebayev: I was moved by the letter written by M. Khromova from Feodosiya. "I know Kazakhstan extremely well," she wrote. "I studied in Alma-Ata and worked in the virgin lands. Those were the best years of my life. I fell in love forever with the Kazakh people--sincere, loyal in friendship, selfless. Only someone's dirty hands could have pushed the young people into rioting." Thank you, Mariya Aleksandrovna, for your warm words! It was indeed dirty hands that made an attempt against our firm international friendship.

V. Kuzmenko: Much has already come to light by now. Primarily the composition of the participants in the events. It was by no means homogeneous. There was, as the republic Communist Party Central Committee plenum noted, "flammable material"--extremist nationalist elements. They proved to have been small in numbers, and they did not form any organization at all. But they did manage to attract a certain section of the young students--by means of persuasion, blackmail, threats. But the majority of students did not support the instigators; they started fighting them. It is also a fact that, in addition to workers and employees, thousands of students and school pupils participated in the maintenance of public order in those days.

M. Suzhikov: But if the "flammable material" did explode, who was it that set it alight? In my view it was those who did and still do fear the restructuring. N. Pasechnik from Donetsk calls them power-seekers who have occupied key positions and offices out of all proportion with their merits or talents. And he is close to the truth. We had an entire stratum of such "leaders," from the village to the capital. After April 1985 this stratum did everything to preserve itself and its caste privileges. And when it perceived that its end was approaching, it cocked the poisoned weapon of nationalism. Let me say this: serious mistakes in the sphere of national relations also had their effect on what happened. These mistakes were committed in all links of the republic's sociopolitical structure, in education, in culture, and in upbringing.



M. Shegebayev: Especially in cadre policy. The republic is populated by Kazakhs, Russians, Ukrainians, Tatars, Germans, Uighurs.... But the proper representation of nationalities had ceased to be observed even at the Central Committee, obkom, and raykom levels.

M. Suzhikov: Yes, the principles of cadre selection were perverted. Everything was being decided on the basis of protectionism, of tribal, family, or friendship relations. Mutual protection was being established. This provided a breeding ground for degeneration in cadres. Take the education system, for example. If we were to look more closely, we would notice a peculiar trend. Some Kazakh young people were being groomed only for higher education from their school days. And for the "prestigious" fields, at that--jurists, economists, historians, journalists. I don't know about you, but I remember well the unhealthy interest that was generated in 1968 by the book "The Tribal Composition and Settlement of Kazakhs" [Rodoplemennoy Sostav i Rasseleniye Kazakhov]. Historical truth was distorted in prose, poetry, songs, and movies, and the nomadic way of life was presented in an idealized fashion. Attempts were even made to rehabilitate nationalist figures from the past.

Hence the flashes of conceit, pride, and egoism. It is no wonder that unhealthy groupings, large and small, started taking shape among adolescents and students. And no particular attention was paid to all this, or indeed to many other things. [Suzhikov ends]

#### A Breath of Fresh Air

"We felt pleased by the very first reports of the practical steps taken by the republic's renewed leadership. You can feel that the solution of pressing problems has been tackled boldly and intelligently. And so it should be."

(From V. Romanov's letter)

V. Kuzmenko: The authors of many letters--K. Ivanov from Yoshkar-Ola, G. Chernovin from Omsk, P. Kotsyuba and P. Varganov from Leningrad, M. Sviridov from Tajikistan, and others--believe that it is necessary to tackle the education of the growing generation more actively and purposefully in a spirit of patriotism and internationalism. To educate them so that every Soviet person feels primarily a citizen of the USSR and only afterward a representative of one nation or another.

M. Suzhikov: This really is very important. And it was no accident that a Central Committee Commission for National and Inter-nation Relations was set up. This was done for the first time ever. Similar commissions are now operating in all party obkoms, gorkoms, and raykoms. Their basic task is to study practice, sum up the best experience, and suggest new forms and methods. I am familiar with the plan for the first 6 months. Interesting intentions. For example, there will be considerable expansion of business contacts with the RSFSR, the Ukraine, Belorussia, and other republics. Material on the work experience of a whole range of multinational



collectives will be submitted soon. Extensive, multifaceted (television, literature, museum), and truthful propaganda is already being carried out to spread knowledge of the progressive historical traditions and characteristic features of the different peoples' culture. It is planned to organize 10-day festivals of literature and art, other festivals, and competitions. Scientists are working on new theoretical elaborations.

M. Shegebayev: There has been approval for the Kazakh Communist Party Central Committee and government resolution on improving the study of the Kazakh and Russian languages in the republic. This will put a decisive end to all kinds of innuendos.

V. Kuzmenko: The nationalist elements thrived on people's dissatisfaction in the social sphere. There have been and there still are difficulties. But changes are already under way. Food supplies have noticeably improved in Alma-Ata and other major industrial centers. How was that achieved? This is what A. Nedalnyy from Kiev, for example, wants to know. The main point is, of course, that order has been imposed in livestock units. Milk yields and weight gains rose immediately. The "paper" lambs and calves have disappeared. Above-plan output is being achieved. This is what has filled the store shelves. The rigorous monitoring of distribution also helped. Livestock waste on farms and in the processing industry has been ended. Cooperative members are now livelier and they have started purchasing more of the surplus agricultural produce from the population. You can see how many reserves have been discovered.

M. Shegebayev: Restructuring has stirred all the healthy forces and has boosted people's mood: the air is cleaner, and it is easier to breathe. The determination in the struggle against drunkenness, unearned incomes, and parasitism is gratifying. Quite a few parasites have been called to account. The situation as regards housing is on the mend. I go by what is happening at the plant. Since January, two families in our own shop alone have acquired apartments. Construction of new houses by the own-resources methods is gathering pace. And--this is particularly important--the workers have come to believe that everything will be done without fraud or breaches of waiting line procedures.

M. Suzhikov: Marx comes to mind: His saying that, at any given moment, each step of actual movement is more important than a dozen programs. In actual fact, so far only the initial steps in restructuring have been taken, and the most complex work still lies ahead. Even so, just think of the energy we have already managed to release! Scope has been given to forces which had been fettered by bureaucracy, lack of faith, and parasitism. People's activeness can be felt in everything. Labor collective meetings proceed in a sharp and businesslike fashion. Many specific proposals are made with regard to improvement of the common work. And the number of people who are now approaching the republic Communist Party Central Committee! For help, for advice, for the truth. This is trust! It was not easy to achieve, self-purification was needed, but it has been achieved, renewed and at triple strength.

V. Kuzmenko: Speaking at the CPSU Central Committee January Plenum about the demands being made of cadres today, Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev singled out in particular such human qualities as honesty, incorruptibility, and modesty. Why? Simply because deep down there is no single human deed which cannot be examined and evaluated from the viewpoint of these supreme moral values. The crimes of a number of degenerates cast a certain shadow on the pure image of a communist-leader. Our paramount task is to regain the people's trust. Every single day of our lives. By selfless work, boldness, and innovation. So that more and more people may join the revolutionary work of restructuring and the attainment of the goals set by the 27th CPSU Congress. [Kuzmenko ends]

Of course, the participants in the discussion did not manage to answer all questions perturbing the readers. Far too many features and aspects were touched on in the letters. But the conversation made it clear that Kazakhstan's communists and the republic's party committees and organizations have squarely faced the problems of the further development of national relations and the intensification of international and patriotic education. All this helps to strengthen the peoples' friendship and to create a healthy sociopolitical and moral atmosphere in the republic.

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KAZAKH PLENUM PERSONNEL CHANGES REPORTED

[Editorial Report] Alma-Ata KAZAKHSTANSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian on 15 March 1987 carries on page 1 an unattributed information report on the Kazakhstan Communist Party Central Committee plenum held on 14 March. The tasks of the republic party organization for the fulfillment of the decisions of the January 1987 Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee on restructuring party cadre policy were examined at the plenum.

A report of the Buro of the Kazakhstan Communist Party Central Committee on this question was delivered by G.V. Kolbin, first secretary of the Kazakhstan Communist Party Central Committee.

Taking part in the plenum were S.M. Mukashev, chairman of the Presidium of the Kazakh SSR Supreme Soviet; Yu.N. Trofimov, first secretary of the Aktubinsk Obkom of the Kazakhstan Communist Party; M.S. Mendybayev, first secretary of the Alma-Ata Obkom of the Kazakhstan Communist Party; M.R. Sagdiev, first secretary of the Kokchetav Obkom of the Kazakhstan Communist Party; T.P. Yudina, head of the caviar-fillet processing shop of the Guryev V.I. Lenin production association; E.N. Auyelbekov, first secretary of the Kzyl-Orda Obkom of the Kazakhstan Communist Party; V.A. Dukhovnykh, senior smelter at the Ust-Kamenogorsk titanium-magnesium combine; O.C. Kuanyshev, first secretary of the Turgay Obkom of the Kazakhstan Communist Party; L.Ya. Chichenkova, secretary of the Junction Party Committee of Semipalatinsk station; N.A. Nazarbayev, chairman of the Kazakh SSR Council of Ministers; V.T. Stepanov, first secretary of the North Kazakhstan Obkom of the Kazakhstan Communist Party; K.B. Darzhumanov, first secretary of the Karchirskiy Raykom, Pavlodar Oblast; A.K. Zhakupov, first secretary of the Dzhambul Obkom of the Kazakhstan Communist Party; I.D. Zhangurazov, general director of the Vishnevskiy production association for poultry farming, Tselinograd Oblast; V.G. Anufriev, first secretary of the Taldy-Kurgan Obkom of the Kazakhstan Communist Party; K.S. Sultanov, secretary of the Karaganda Obkom of the Kazakhstan Communist Party; R. Murzashev, first secretary of the Chimkent Obkom of the Kazakhstan Communist Party; N.V. Donina, electrical assembly workers team leader of the "Omega" equipment manufacturing plant in Uralsk; O.O. Suleymenov, first secretary of the Board of the Kazakh Writers Union; G.D. Shayakhmetov, secretary of the party committee of the Dzezkazgan mining and metallurgical combine.

Organizational matters were discussed at the plenum. The plenum relieved E.F. Bashmakov of duties as secretary of the Kazakhstan Communist Party Central Committee in connection with transfer to other work. V.N. Lobov was relieved of duties as a member of the Kazakhstan Communist Party Central Committee Buro in connection with transfer to other work. The plenum elected Yu.A. Meshcheryakov, who had worked as first secretary of the Oktyabrskiy raykoms of Alma-Ata, as secretary and member of the Buro of the Kazakhstan Communist Party Central Committee. V.A. Kuzmenko, milkmaid at the "Kamenskiy" breeding farm of Kaskelenskiy Rayon, Alma-Ata Oblast was elected Buro member; T.M. Kurganskiy was confirmed as administrator of affairs of the Kazakhstan Communist Party Central Committee.

Taking part in the plenum was I.N. Tutevol, a senior official of the Kazakhstan Communist Party Central Committee.

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CSO: 1830/428

KAZAKH SUPREME SOVIET VIEWS PEOPLES' CONTROL ACTIVITY

PM211329 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 8 Apr 87 Morning Edition p 2

[Correspondent E. Matskevich report: "Establishing Justice: Kazakh SSR Supreme Soviet Session Examines the Activity of the Republic's Peoples' Control Committee"]

[Excerpts] Alma-Ata--Deputies have assembled for the first time since the change in leadership of the republic's party organization. People still have fresh in mind their impressions of the recent Kazakh Communist Party Central Committee plenum held in Alma-Ata, which discussed communists' tasks in executing the CPSU Central Committee plenum decisions "On Restructuring and Party Cadre Policy" and at which a thorough and precise assessment was made of the situation and resolute condemnation was voiced of those officials and actions that had helped favoritism, violations of the law, and other negative phenomena to flourish in the republic.

It is well known that peoples' control organs were for a long time exempt from criticism. "It must be acknowledged in a spirit of self-criticism," said Z. Meyramov, leader of a team of painters and plasterers at the "Turgayalyuninstroy" Trust, speaking from the rostrum, "that the monitoring carried out by inspectors quite often does not meet present-day requirements. Sometimes right-sounding speeches about restructuring conceal formalism, permissiveness, and a reluctance to bring to light certain violations and publicize them or to make the culprits fully and strictly accountable."

A question raised was why we tolerate passivity on the part of certain inspectors and leave them alone from one election to the next. Lazy inspectors should be removed while they are actually in office.

"It is quite clear," Republic Deputy Prosecutor G. Yelemisov observed, "that peoples' control inspectors can only be of great benefit when they enjoy full support, including the support of officials. What can an inspector expect from leaders who themselves unscrupulously steal from the state, accept bribes, and aid and abet slipshod work, self-seeking, and the breakdown of production discipline?"

The virus of connivance has always flourished wherever genuine principledness has been replaced by a mere simulacrum of it and where monitoring of observance

of the principles of social justice has been replaced by perfunctory measures. And there are today still very many people who seek to have a quiet life and refrain from washing dirty linen in public, whether the linen in question is that of a plant, sovkhoz, rayon, oblast, or department.

Here is an example: some 80 departmental checks of agriculture in Kzyl-Orda Oblast detected 10 times (!) fewer head of livestock stolen or lost than just one survey carried out by peoples' control inspectors. That speaks volumes.

It must be recognized that the republic peoples' control organs still do not always investigate with sufficient thoroughness the state of affairs in laggard areas of agriculture, the implementation of scientific and technical progress plans, the state acceptance service, or the enhancement of labor productivity.

This point was made in the speeches delivered by A. Batsula, republic finance minister, Ye. Golubkin, director general of an Alma-Ata cotton combine, and S. Mukashev, chairman of the Kazakh SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium.

The ability to express one's opinion for all to hear and to face the truth, which distinguishes the political situation in the republic today, was impossible just 3 months back.

The press has already reported that the participants at the Kazakh Communist Party Central Committee plenum came to the conclusion that it is necessary to institute party proceedings against D. Kunayev, former first secretary of the republic communist party Central Committee, and to notify the CPSU Central Committee, of which he is a member, of that opinion.

At the session deputies again said that the words "democracy" and "collective leadership" were used merely to hide the unchecked one-man leadership of D. Kunayev and were in fact trampled on in the most unscrupulous way.

During a recess between sessions I spoke with B. Imamadiyev, a horse-herder from Alma-Ata Oblast's V.I. Lenin Kolkhoz. "An assembly recently took place in Dzambul'skiy Rayon," he said, "where our leaders--the raykom secretary and the rayispolkom chairman--had to report back to the people. Everyone was able to talk about anything that was troubling them. Microphones were set up even in the street. People correctly said that our region, ruled from Alma-Ata, was virtually split up into fiefdoms. Anonymous letters and rumor abounded, but no one ever spoke openly. People would sit on presidiums and raise toasts to lambs that existed only on paper and then think about how to write them off and derive profit from them.... This cannot recur now."

Openness is with every day becoming established as a part of our life and a reliable tool of restructuring. Oblast newspapers daily report the activity of the vanguard detachments of restructuring--the coordinating councils set up to solve promptly the most pressing tasks, involving work with cadres, the solution of the housing problem, and the campaign against crime, alcoholism, and unearned income. Public opinion roundups providing exhaustive answers to questions sent in to editorial offices and party and soviet organs by working people are published once a week.

The people want the complete victory of democratic principles. And the republic does have the people to assert these principles.

In the Supreme Soviet alone most deputies are communists. [sentence as published] Speaking at a session to the party group of deputies, G. Kolbin, first secretary of the republic communist party Central Committee, stressed the great importance of being a communist elected by the people and his role in the soviet.

"Our starting point must be the work that still remains to be done before we fully satisfy peoples' growing demands. Work only partially done must be regarded as debt owed by the deputy and the people must be informed about it. And those who owe such a debt to the electorate and the people and who continue calmly to hold on to their deputy's powers as a member of the Supreme Soviet or local soviet are certainly losing any sense of self-criticism and, with it, peoples' trust."

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CSO: 1830/474

PARTY, STATE AFFAIRS

KOLBIN'S WORK STYLE, PERSONALITY PRAISED

PM081005 [Editorial Report] Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 7 April 1987 carries on page 4 under the headline "Two Viewers" a 750-word Yu. Geyko review of the week's television. He focuses on a program entitled "Toward the 20th Komsomol Congress" made by Kazakh TV, stating that the 45 minutes "flew by." Apart from details of the 16th Kazakh Komsomol Congress, he notes, "the program also showed the personality, work style, and charm of Gennadiy Vasilyevich Kolbin, first secretary of the Kazakh Communist Party Central Committee. I know it may not be in the spirit of the times, but it is impossible to talk about the republic without talking about him. Proud Komsomol members tell him, by way of a challenge, someone once started speaking Kazakh to Gennadiy Vasilyevich, who, smiling, heard him out and started speaking Georgian! (He worked for a time in Georgia). He then added that in a year he would know Kazakh just as well. Komsomol members asked him about this at the congress. 'Yes,' Gennadiy Vasilyevich replied, 'I am learning the language.'"

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CSO: 1830/475



# KHOREZM OBKOM RESTRUCTURES LECTURE PROPAGANDA

[Editorial Report] Tashkent SOVET OZBEKISTONI in Uzbek on 22 January 1987 carries on page 2 a 1,100-word article by E. Rahmonov, Secretary of the Khorezm Obkom, entitled "Guarantee of Effectiveness" in which he discusses obkom efforts to restructure its lecture propaganda. Rahmonov notes that oblast party organizations are carrying out this restructuring program on the basis of the Uzbek CP Central Committee's decision "On measures to further develop lecture propaganda in the republic." The obkom has thoroughly examined the work of the 12 city, 269 primary organizations, and 83 scientific-methodological sections of the Znaniye Society and outlined ways to correct their deficiencies. The obkom and Znaniye Society maintain a chart that clearly shows when and where each of 106 lecturers speak. This and other measures have helped improve their lectures on the foreign and domestic policies of the CPSU, the international situation, and the theme of acceleration.

Nonetheless, Rahmonov points out, lecture propaganda does not meet current demands. Deficiencies in this area were clearly revealed when only 4300 of 5100 lecturers were certified. Moreover, some leaders who are listed as lecturers view their duties apathetically. In many instances lectures are announced but not given through the fault of leaders of enterprises, farms, and organizations. Cases like this demonstrate that various leaders still do not take seriously the demands placed on them by the restructuring program. Primary organizations of the Znaniye Society are not operating satisfactorily. Some of their lecturers do not give a single talk during the year, while others show little concern for raising their level of political knowledge. Fewer and fewer farm leaders and specialists are taking part in lecture propaganda.

Rahmonov states that party organizations are implementing a series of measures to correct these shortcomings in lecture propaganda and restructure the work of Znaniye organizations. Some 2,300 communists have been selected to organize lectures and over 200 speaking halls have been remodeled. Rahmonov notes that such measures are only the first steps in an effort to elevate lecture propaganda and make lecturers more effective fighters on the ideological front.

NAMANGAN OBKOM HOLDS PLENUM ON IDEOLOGICAL WORK

[Editorial Report] Tashkent SOVET OZBEKISTONI in Uzbek on 10 December 1986 carries on page 3 a 700-word article by own correspondent T. Nazirov entitled "The Responsibility of Working in the New Way" in which he reports on a plenum held by the Namangan Obkom at which First Secretary N.R. Radzhabov and others spoke on tasks in improving ideological work. Speakers pointed out that the failures of a number of farms to reach their cotton goals and of enterprises to meet their production plans are due to the slackness of organizational and party work. Party organizations and ideological cadres are not taking effective steps to turn around negative situations. In particular, they need to raise the level of atheistic education and work being carried out among women. Speakers noted with satisfaction that workers now have a higher living standard and a better attitude toward work, but criticized neglect of political and economic education by various rayon party committees. The plenum adopted a resolution concerning the problems discussed.

UZBEK PARTY ORGANIZATIONS MUST IMPROVE RECRUITMENT WORK

[Editorial Report] Tashkent SOVET OZBEKISTONI in Uzbek on 13 December 1986 carries on page 1 a 1,100-word lead editorial entitled "The Education of Young Communists" which discusses recruitment of party members and supervision of their candidacy period. It points out that party organization members or communists who recommend candidates are responsible for their successful completion of the candidacy period. They should give regular reports to party organizations concerning the progress of candidates, ensure that they attend meetings and talk with communists, and encourage them to give reports on how they are carrying out their assignments and complying with the demands of the CPSU Rules.

The editorial notes that schools for young communists can serve as centers for tempering their ideological conviction and responsibility. Unfortunately, such schools are organized on paper only in some places. Moreover, various primary party organizations pursue a formal or arbitrary policy in recruiting new members and rarely take into consideration the opinions of party groups. In many cases party organizations fail to provide adequate education during the candidacy period. This is evident by the fact that various youths do not show sufficient respect for the name of communist. For example, M. Hojayevev, a candidate of the party organization of the Bukhara Textile Combine, failed to receive adequate

attention and was not drawn into social and political activities. As a result he betrayed the trust of communists and even took part in religious ceremonies. Recently, the Bukhara Gorkom invalidated his candidacy.

City and rayon party committees must provide constant leadership over the selection and education of cadres by primary party organizations. From the first day of candidacy each youth must receive ideological and political education and be tested on a daily basis through participation in party and public affairs, assignments, and fulfillment of tasks. The editorial points out that in order to achieve this goal broader use must be made of the party political and education system, schools for young communists, and other forms of ideological and political education.

#### TASHKENT OBKOM HOLDS PLENUM ON IDEOLOGICAL WORK

[Editorial Report] Tashkent SOVET OZBEKISTONI in Uzbek on 17 December 1986 carries on page 1 a 1,500-word article by own special correspondents J. Sa'dullayev and R. Tursunov entitled "With High Demandingness" in which they report on a plenum held by the Tashkent Obkom at which First Secretary T.A. Alimov and others spoke on tasks in improving ideological work. Alimov noted that, according to sociological research, the amount of pomposity, disorganization, office leadership, and unnecessary meetings has considerably declined in places, and a number of party committees are analyzing and discussing important problems of ideological work. However, he continued, some leaders in the oblast are still engaged in fraud and deception of the state. Cases of report padding have been uncovered at over 40 enterprises and organizations. He stressed the need to completely restructure socialist competition. Research indicates that numerous workers are not aware of who is competing with whom, the results of competition, or their own obligations.

Alimov pointed out that party organizations and ideological cadres in numerous labor collectives are complacent toward those who violate labor and production discipline. Lack of discipline is causing serious harm to the spiritual atmosphere in collectives, and coming to work drunk, drinking on the job, and spending work time in sobering up stations continue to set back production.

Other speakers stressed the need to fight those who gain unearned income, speculators, parasites, and thieves. A number of party organizations permit slackness in organizing political and economic education and formalism in agitprop work. Severe criticism was leveled at the obkom's agitprop department for insufficient work with ideological cadres and neglect of lecture propaganda and display agitation, particularly in apartment complexes and neighborhoods. The Tashkent City and Rayon Party Committees were criticized for clinging to outdated work methods such as excessive paperwork, formalism, and report padding. For example, the Kirov Raykom falsely reported the volume of work it carried out with youth and in the fields of culture and sports.

The plenum discussed the fact that a certain portion of the oblast population remains under the influence of religion. Numerous party and soviet organs and ideological workers do not properly assess the social threat posed by religious vestiges and take a superficial approach to atheistic education work. Sociological research shows that various students in Buka Rayon practice religious customs on a wide scale. The reading of religious wedding vows and holding of religious funeral services continue in a number of places. This year alone over 80 unofficial prayer houses and numerous fake mullahs have been identified. Holy sites continue to be a source of unearned income in Almalyk City and Akkurgan, Kalinin, and Srednechirchik Rayons. G. Botirov, former chairman and communist of Kolkhoz imeni Frunze in Buka Rayon, oversaw the construction of a building for the holding of religious rites at a cemetery. Numerous communists are taking part in religious ceremonies. Some of them have been expelled from the party or subjected to severe party punishment. Speakers stressed that the propagation of modern customs and Soviet ceremonies must occupy a prominent place in the fight against religion.

The plenum adopted a resolution concerning the problems discussed. G.Kh. Kadirov, chairman of the Uzbek SSR Council of Ministers, spoke at the plenum.

#### UZBEK PARTY EDUCATION SYSTEM NEEDS IMPROVEMENT

[Editorial Report] Tashkent SOVET OZBEKISTONI in Uzbek on 18 December 1986 carries on page 1 a 900-word lead editorial entitled "School of Ideological Tempering" which discusses tasks facing party committees in improving the party's political and economic education system. It states that the editorial office has received alarming information that party studies are being conducted formally or in name only in many places. Party committees are not showing sufficient interest in how instruction is given or in what impression it leaves in listeners. They rely on reports from primary party organizations instead of monitoring the true situation, and fail to provide needed methodological assistance to propagandists.

The editorial states that successful instruction depends on completely eliminating formalism, excess paperwork, and empty talk among party organizations. Propagandists must encourage independent thought and creative approaches to meeting assignments, and proceed with the awareness that successful ideological and political work depends on their knowledge, ability, and experience. Party committees and political education houses must take steps to improve the theoretical and methodological training of propagandists, keep them informed of new events and advances, arm them with needed study and technical aids, and monitor the quality of their instruction.

## DZHIZAK OBLAST PARTY AKTIV MEETS

[Editorial Report] Tashkent SOVET OZBEKISTONI in Uzbek on 27 December 1986 carries on page 2 a 1,500-word article by own correspondent B. Sattorov entitled "Serious Demands of Acceleration" in which he reports on a meeting held by the Dzhizak Oblast party and economic aktiv to discuss problems in land reclamation work. In preparing for the meeting the Dzhizak Obkom determined that huge sums would be needed to correct errors and shortcomings permitted for many years in the reclamation of lands in the oblast. The planning work for farms in the steppe regions has not taken into consideration the enormous difficulties involved and the need for a large labor force to overcome them. As a result allocations of funds and resources have been too small. For this reason the obkom also invited leaders of ministries and agencies connected with steppe farming to the meeting.

Participants pointed out that party organizations have not shown firmness and militancy nor supported the creative initiatives of communists and labor collectives. Some party committees do not even discuss problems of production development nor do they demand a strict accounting from farm leaders who consistently fail to meet plans. Such shortcomings have contributed to the loss of positive attitudes toward labor of thousands of people. Cotton production and machine harvesting have declined, the construction and repair of irrigation networks is disorganized, and working conditions for workers are poor. Speakers noted that over 10,000 hectares of crop land is not in the agricultural turnover and one-third of the total hectarage has become resalinated. The chief water collector in the oblast was built using volunteer labor in an emergency fashion and is now operating so poorly that it seriously damages fields in five rayons. Nearly 3,000 kilometers, or 24 percent of the covered drain pipes in the oblast need repair; 80 percent of the drain pipes in the central fields of farms are not functional; and 155 vertical drainage irrigation networks operate poorly. This situation makes it extremely difficult for farms to meet plans and improve working conditions.

Participants in the meeting found it appropriate to form a state commission to study the problems that have arisen in developing the economy of steppe farms and utilizing their production potential. In turn, this study will help fine tune the program for accelerating the intensification of oblast agriculture. Speakers also stressed the need to eliminate errors and shortcomings in the development of steppe rayons, cut out formalism in work, and increase the contribution of the obkom and republic ministries and agencies to the establishment of strict order and discipline in this region.

CSO: 1830/484

BRIEFS

WRITER AWARDED--The USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium awarded the Order of October Revolution to the writer Vladimir Ivanovich Firsov. This marks his services to the development of Soviet literature, beneficial public activity and the 50th anniversary of his birth. [Text] [Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1330 GMT 25 Apr 87 LD] /12232

ACADEMICIAN AWARDED--By a decree of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, Nikolay Nikolayevich Blokhin, president of the USSR Academy of Medical Sciences, has been awarded the Order of the October Revolution. This is to mark his services in the development of medical science, the preparation of scientific cadres, and the 75th anniversary of his birth. [Text] [Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1400 GMT 3 May 87 LD] /12232

CSO: 1800/608

PRAVDA EDITORIALIZES ON WORKING PEOPLE'S LETTERS

PM151751 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 13 Apr 87 Second Edition p 1

[Editorial: "Working People's Letters: An Important Channel for Developing Direct Democracy and Party Dialogue With the People"]

[Text] "After all, these are genuinely human documents! After all, you will not hear such things in a single report!"

That was what V.I Lenin said about working people's letters. Vladimir Ilich saw the mail addressed to him and to party and soviet organs as a rich source of information on people's feelings and "current concerns," and did not miss any opportunity to talk to petitioners himself. Party leaders' broad contacts with working people and the profound study of the real processes of life are the fundamental features of the Leninist style and today form the basis of the shaping of party policy.

At the 27th CPSU Congress working people's letters were placed on a par with important channels of strengthening party ties with the masses and developing direct democracy such as citizens' meetings, voters' mandates, the press, radio, and television.

In the year that has elapsed since the congress hundreds of thousands of letters have arrived at the CPSU Central Committee. The PRAVDA editorial office receives 2,000 every day. They are responses to current events, good advice, proposals, and warning signals. They are like a mirror reflecting the country's life.

Through letters and other means of gauging public opinion the party conducts an interested dialogue with the people. Ardently supporting its domestic and foreign policies, Soviet people express readiness in their letters to reinforce with practical deeds the party's course of accelerating the country's socioeconomic development, increasing demandingness toward cadres, instilling order and discipline, and resolutely improving economic management methods.

"I and my comrades at work wholly approve the genuinely revolutionary transformations currently taking place in our society's economic and political life," worker A. Shevelev writes to PRAVDA from Volzhskiy. "We believe that the party has drawn the correct conclusion from the mistakes of the past."



"As we restructure, our cause will progress," party veteran V. Shcherbinin from Kurgan muses. "That must be understood by everyone, particularly if they are Communists."

"The democratization of our life is not some invention, it is an objective necessity," agronomist and Komsomol member V. Lesyuk from Khmel'nitskiy Oblast pondered.

Letters from various places attest that the restructuring and renovation process taking place in society has generated enormous enthusiasm. It can be said without any mistake that the ideas put forward at the CPSU Central Committee January Plenum for further developing democracy and openness and for boosting cadres' responsibility for their tasks are consonant with the people's mood. The social activeness of all sections of the population has increased. Party organizations are seeking new forms and methods of work. In other words, the spiritual climate in the country is now such that nobody feels detached from large-scale policies.

Primary organizations have done a great deal since the 27th CPSU Congress to further improve work with letters. This work has become clearer, better thought out, and--this is the main thing--more effective. Party obkoms, gorkoms, and raykoms, local soviets, ministries, and departments are now analyzing the mail in greater depth and are implementing valuable proposals and wishes more swiftly. Surveys, opinion polls, and sociological research have become commonplace.

For instance, items on the Moscow Gorispolkom report were published in city newspapers and discussed in labor collectives in advance of the recent Moscow Soviet session. In Ulyanovsk, Sverdlovsk, and many other oblast party organizations constant meetings between leaders, workers, and young people, along with press conferences, have become the rule.

But the letters also say something else. "The population of our city is growing," a group of miners from Gorlovka wrote, "but the housing waiting list is growing even faster. Very many of us have dilapidated apartments, and there are few new blocks under construction. Drinking water is only available to the city's population at certain times, there is a 40-percent shortage of physicians.... The social sphere has been neglected throughout the Donbass. How could the party obkom and the republic's Ministry of the Coal Industry have permitted such a thing?" In confirmation of the above we would add that PRAVDA has received 592 letters on housing questions from Donetsk Oblast in the past year.

People write from Ura-tyubinskiy Rayon in Tajikistan about the severe shortage of kindergartens; there have been many letters from Arkhangelsk Oblast about labor conflicts. Embezzlers of public property have an easy time at a number of kolkhozes and sovkhoses in Kursk Oblast. In Leningrad, readers report, not everything has been done to solve social and leisure problems with regard to the transition of enterprises to the two- and three-shift system.



Judging by the continuing stream of letters, people in most republics and oblasts have not yet felt any notable changes in housing distribution, trade, or health care. In this regard it is necessary to recall that we must not depart for a second from the criteria laid down by the CPSU Central Committee January Plenum. Questions of developing the social sphere should be constantly at the center of party committees' attention. It is necessary to resolutely eradicate the causes of justified complaints and reprimands from the population, to swiftly solve questions on the spot, and to persistently eradicate shortcomings in organizing the examination of citizens' letters and the reception given to citizens.

Dealing with letters and working people's complaints primarily means dealing with people. There should be no questions on which we cannot supply the Soviet people with answers. In many cases it is only the complacency of local officials that forces working people to take their requests to central organizations. The duty of leaders is to set a personal example of an attentive and concerned attitude to everyone. Needless to say, nobody has the right to permit prejudice in the investigation of one acute signal or another. It is quite impermissible when an official in a position of authority embarks on the path of directly persecuting those who dared to criticize him in an attempt to protect the "honor of the uniform." Not a single instance of the stifling of criticism should be left uninvestigated within the party or at the workplace.

At the same time we must not close our eyes to attempts to besmirch and slander honorable people and demanding leaders in letters, or to set people at odds and stir up petty squabbles. We have not yet seen the end of anonymous letters. And we must proceed on the basis that a healthy collective must always be able to call scandalmongers to account and bring slanderers and spiteful critics into line. But if an honest person has made a mistake in writing his complaint or has failed to take account of objective opportunities for solving the problem he poses, the writer of such a letter must have his mistakes frankly explained to him and his illusions dispelled.

The scale and novelty of the restructuring that has been launched on the party's initiative demand a resolute improvement of work with letters to newspaper and magazine editorial offices and to the television and radio. The press, the television, and the radio must have their finger on the pulse of life itself. Let workers and kolkhoz members talk in their own words about the new things entering our reality and about the concerns and plans which worry them most of all. The press can do a great deal to allow people's talents to show through, to reveal their creative potential, and to actively support the masses' initiative. It is meant to act in a principled and intransigent manner against any manifestations of bureaucratism and red tape.

Profound and genuinely radical shifts are now taking place in our society. The party has resolutely set its sights on expanding openness and on making full use of such a tried and tested weapon as criticism and self-criticism, particularly criticism from below. Letters are one component of criticism

from below. Working people's activeness is highly valued, and taking an attentive attitude to all effective advice and criticism from workers, kolkhoz members, and the intelligentsia means educating Soviet people in democracy and fostering in them the noble sense of being masters of the country.

/7358

CSO: 1800/586

FOREIGN REPORTERS' VIEWS SOUGHT ON USSR REFORMS

PM061531 Moscow LITERATURNAYA GAZETA in Russian 1 Apr 87 p 14

[Interview with numerous foreign journalists under the "LITERATURNAYA GAZETA Press Club" rubric recorded by Sergey Merinov: "Openness and 'Glasnost' ("Glasnost i 'Glasnost'"--first in cyrillic, then in Latin script): The Changes in the Soviet Union Through Foreign Journalists' Eyes"; first seven paragraphs are editorial introduction; "openness" translated cyrillic "glasnost", quoted "glasnost" renders Latin-script original throughout]

[Text] The LITERATURNAYA GAZETA Press Club is familiar to readers. We usually publish under this rubric conversations with writers, scientists, politicians, and public figures. A meeting with foreign journalists accredited in the USSR was held recently at the editorial office on the initiative of the newspaper's international section.

Ringling around the offices of the Moscow correspondents of ASAHI, TRYBUNA LUDU, and other newspapers, we thought that the idea of arranging a press club discussion and exchanging opinions on the progress of restructuring and the problems of openness in the USSR would interest our journalist colleagues. And we were not mistaken. The following took part in the LITERATURNAYA GAZETA Press Club session: Guilietto Chiesa (L'UNITA, Italy), Jerzy Kraszewski (TRYBUNA LUDU, Poland), Yosisuke Niizuma (ASAHI, Japan), Rajiv Shah (PATRIOT, India), Raycho Radulov (TRUD, Bulgaria), (Szheffri) Trimble (U.S. NEWS AND WORLD REPORT, United States), Martin Walker (THE GUARDIAN, Britain), Bernard Frederic (L'HUMANITE, France), and Uwe Engelbrecht, (KOELNER STADT-ANZEIGER, FRG). The [adjoining] photographs of our guests are arranged in order of mention.

LITERATURNAYA GAZETA political observers Igor Belyayev and Fedor Burlatskiy and staffers from the international section took part in the discussion on the newspaper's behalf. The meeting was conducted by Oleg Prudkov, member of LITERATURNAYA GAZETA's editorial office.

The questions were:

What do you think and what are you writing about restructuring and openness?

How do you work in Moscow?

How is the public of your countries responding to what is happening in the Soviet Union?

Martin Walker: What does openness mean to me as a journalist? It means two or three press conferences a week, a Soviet press that is interesting, and the need to read carefully everything that is published. I have already told the GUARDIAN editor that one correspondent in Moscow is no longer enough--we need two now.

I am interested in why restructuring and openness have begun only now. Better late than never, of course, but why so late nevertheless? I am sure that every soviet intellectual has waited for this, but why was it necessary to wait so long?

Bernard Frederic: If openness amounted just to press objectivity and the publication of material concerning problems that could not previously be written about, we would not be able to assess this process correctly. Openness cannot be separated from the political goal which requires openness.

Openness is not a goal in itself. As I understand it, openness is one of the means (probably the main one) of effecting the process of democratization.

Western correspondents still have the habit of looking for those things that the Soviet press omits. I think that they must also restructure themselves.

Uwe Engelbrecht: I agree. It seems to me as a representative of the bourgeois press that the restructuring in the USSR does also require a certain restructuring on our part. We are not yet equal to the task here. This is tied up with many factors--above all, dogmatism. Many editors in the West have upheld the thesis all their lives that no reform of any kind is possible in the Soviet Union. Another factor is that the changes happening here are far from suiting everyone in the West. The last 18 months have seen a substantial growth in the standing of Soviet foreign policy. I recently read an article by an American journalist who wrote that what is happening here constitutes an ideological catastrophe for those now in power in Washington.

Not everything happening in your country is immediately received by us in an objective, well-intentioned way. I myself sometimes receive assignments conceived in the old spirit and requiring that I write and cover events in the old way.

Fedor Burlatskiy: This may seem paradoxical but, in my opinion, it will be more difficult for you to ensure openness than for us. Soviet public opinion is quite ready to accept objective, well-intentioned, analytical information about the West, whereas it will be exceptionally difficult to smash the prevailing image in the West of the Soviet Union as an "evil empire." Indeed, will you want to smash it?--that is another question.

Yosisuke Niizuma: The words "glasnost" and "perestroyka" [restructuring] are now almost part of the Japanese language. I am on my second tour in the USSR and can therefore compare the present period with the situation 10 years ago. Then I often had to read between the lines in your press but, despite my efforts, did not always manage to understand everything. There were very few press conferences held, whereas we now have two or three a week. You have the opportunity to put your questions directly to Foreign Ministry officials. As far as my work here is concerned, restructuring is very useful, and I do ask you to make it irreversible!

I write for my newspaper not just about the restructuring in politics but also about the changes taking place in the cultural sphere--articles devoted, for example, to Gumilev and Pasternak and his "Doctor Zhivago." I know that ASAHI's readers follow these articles with great interest. Is their attitude to the Soviet Union changing? I would say it is: They are beginning to learn about restructuring and the changes taking place and are showing interest in them.

Raycho Radulov: It is not difficult for me to understand the words "glasnost," "perestroyka," and "uskoreniye" [acceleration]. Our Slavic languages are similar and the historical ties between Bulgaria and Russia and Bulgaria and the Soviet Union are close.

I have been working here 5 years now. Whereas it is now easier for my colleagues from ASAHI, it is, on the contrary, more difficult for me, since it is necessary to break with stereotypes and cliches formed over many years. It is not just the Soviet Union that needs restructuring. We ourselves, our opponents, and our friends need it--we need it if [we] want to understand the world as it is.

I know journalists of ours who have worked 5, 6, or 10 years in the United States without writing a single good word about Americans like Caldwell, Updike, or even Mark Twain. They have simply sought out what divides us, and that alone. Western colleagues when writing about the Soviet Union or Bulgaria are also geared to what divides us.

One-sidedness must be avoided. Look at what they write about Pasternak in the West: It turns out that Pasternak is solely synonymous with "Doctor Zhivago." Do people in the United States, for example, know anything other than that novel? Here, on the other hand, people know and talk about the whole of Pasternak's creative legacy. Pasternak represents the suffering and joy of the Soviet intelligentsia, an intelligentsia which has not ceased to struggle on his behalf and to preserve his memory.

As the old saying goes, the path to a simple truth is the most difficult. We must all follow it because the stakes are very high: Preventing war and ensuring peace and understanding among the peoples. And if we are to follow that path we must take a wider view of things.

Foreign correspondents working in Moscow are well enough informed. Of course, we would like to know more, would like to penetrate the secrets of the General

Staff and Gorbachev's office, but, alas, that is as impossible here as in any other country. We travel around the Soviet Union, visit Chernobyl and Semipalatinsk, and I have been lucky enough to travel even as far as the Kurile Islands and Sakhalin.

Restructuring here is, in my view, proceeding unevenly at different levels. It is under way at the upper echelon (political leadership, the leadership of creative unions, and so forth), it has firm supporters at the middle level--I'm thinking of such remarkable people as Kabaidze from Ivanov, Nikolay Travkin, a construction worker from the Moscow region, and others. But it is my personal opinion that restructuring has still not embraced the bottom level [nizy], the people, the millions of people. They are in favor of restructuring but they are accustomed to waiting for someone to decide and do everything for them. People do not know their place or role in what is happening. I think that the ideas of restructuring have not yet won over minds at the worker level or become the norm of behavior and the moral guideline for the majority. That will take time.

Giulietto Chiesa: In February I wrote 36 pieces, in January 35, in December 32--not just for L'UNITA but for other newspapers and magazines too. And all Italian correspondents have the same brief: Write more, give as much information as possible. I can say with certainty that in the last 18 months Italians' image of the Soviet Union has changed. And changed substantially.

I agree with my colleagues who have said that we foreign correspondents must restructure ourselves. I agree with my colleague from ASAHI that we no longer have to read between the lines now. In this sense it has become easier. But it has simultaneously become more difficult. You cannot now be satisfied with what lies on the surface but must look deeper and analyze events.

I personally regard restructuring and openness with great sympathy. As a communist and a journalist I can see that there is still much for you to do. You are, of course, only beginning, and beginning with the heavy legacy of 15-20 years during which real problems were hushed up.

Last September I addressed people taking part in the L'UNITA Festival about the situation in the Soviet Union. And I discovered to my surprise that half of those present--and there were at least 600 people there--disagreed with my viewpoint and my articles. There are people in our party who have always been used to regarding the USSR as a model to be imitated, whether under Stalin, Khrushchev, Brezhnev, or Gorbachev. They will not accept criticism, do not want to acknowledge the existence of changes and struggle, and think in the old way: If it is the Soviet Union that is concerned, everything is first-rate. Our attitude to the USSR is the subject of serious discussion in our party.

You missed the opportunity to report Chernobyl in a timely way. Although it is true that information was subsequently provided. The events in Alma-ata were reported in good time but not everything, and we still do not have the full picture. I understand perfectly well the kind of difficulties that exist here, both professional and political. And yet dissatisfaction persists.

When TASS failed to report the whole truth about Alma-ata, it gave people grounds for thinking that other problems were also being concealed. There are obkom secretaries who do not want openness. The episode in Voroshilovgrad showed that, and it is not, I think, restricted to Voroshilovgrad: There are other party leaders who are opposed to openness. They must be given the floor during open discussion to explain why and what they are opposed to.

If I have correctly understood the essence of restructuring, it has opponents in the upper and middle echelons and among the workers. And this is only natural, because the process of restructuring itself goes very deep.

Igor Belyayev: Is there opposition to restructuring? Of course! Some like it, others not at all. There are forces impeding and sabotaging restructuring, there are bureaucrats incapable of restructuring themselves. To these people our leadership says: You will have to go one way or another. Restructuring is not an easy process and as such brings many unexpected things in its train.

No one is going to persecute the opponents of restructuring, punish them, or deprive them of any rights. They (if they do not retire on pension) will continue working but will work in such a way that they do not impede the development of new and positive trends.

There are skeptical attitudes to openness present in our country. I am not one of the skeptics. There was discussion on these important questions even after the 20th congress and under L.I. Brezhnev, but it was conducted for the most part inside party organizations. The main thing now, however, in my view, is to develop a taste for openness in all strata, at every level of society. But trenchant argument and criticism are not ends in themselves. We must learn how to convert words into deeds and to put actual decisions into practice.

Fedor Burlatskiy: I don't know any people who say "no" to restructuring. But two concepts do indeed clash: The concept of deep, structural, revolutionary transformations and that of superficial transformations designed to avoid, as it were, a break which could lead to a crisis situation of, say, the Polish or some other type. Do these two stances confront each other in the press? You will not at present find an open clash of opinions in the press. There is restructuring and there is accommodation. Many people have spent decades learning to accommodate successfully. And now everyone is pro. But rudimentary analysis of the stances adopted by prestigious scientists, writers, and leading journalist will show you how diverse opinions regarding restructuring are. Although I am certain that the time is coming when there will be an open clash of opinions.

As for the political sphere, discussion is also going on there. But I am convinced that the decisions being taken do reflect the general opinion of the Politburo and the Central Committee. And discussion and clashes of opinion are natural things, particularly now that we are embarking on the extraordinarily significant process of restructuring.



(Dzheffri) Trimble: I would first like to say that our readers are showing very great interest in the Soviet Union. My colleagues working in Asia and Europe complain that I fill up the paper (I send two or three articles a week) and that there is no space left for them. I think that for an American or indeed any Western journalist Moscow is today the most interesting place in the world.

Why do Americans know so little about the Soviet Union? The reason is that for many years it remained a "closed society" for us. What could I write if I spoke only with foreign diplomats, journalists, and dissidents? The Foreign Ministry now helps us and the information which it gives us is fully reflected in what I write.

Yes, there is openness, but not in everything. I will give a couple of examples. Soviet newspapers write a lot about veterans of the conflict of Afghanistan. I also wanted to write about their life and problems. I range a Komsomol worker who, I was told, ran Afghanistan veterans' clubs and organized their meetings. I asked him a few questions, by no means the most probing: Do such clubs exist, where are they to be found, and who runs them? He said he would be able to answer me only if Gennadiy Gerasimov, chief of the Foreign Ministry Information Administration, were to ring him himself.

Following the events in Alma-ata I wanted to travel there. I informed the Foreign Ministry as required, received permission, and was about to leave when Intourist rang to tell me that there were no hotel rooms free in Alma-ata and that I couldn't go. And a correspondent cannot go there now unless he travels in a group accompanied by a Foreign Ministry representative.

Openness does not extend to international topics. All Soviet journalists fully support their government's foreign policy stance and provide just the one viewpoint. That is not how it is with us. Working in South Africa, for example, I met with Africans, government officials, and diplomats and tried to put forward every point of view. Here, however, there is always just one standpoint in international affairs.

Igor Belyayev: It seems to me that our colleagues do not always read the Soviet press carefully, particularly the pages of LITERATURNAYA GAZETA. For example, on Afghanistan and certain Near East problems. I once had occasion to express the view that the United States would not land its marines in Lebanon or Iran. While all our press, however, was stressing that a landing was imminent...

(Dzheffri) Trimble: I repeat: Americans have known very little about you, since you remained for a long time a "closed society" for us. Do you know who among your leaders is the most well known in the United States, the most human in the eyes of the average American? Khrushchev, because he visited the United States and people saw and spoke to him. It would be very useful if the Soviet Union sent General Secretary Gorbachev to the United States. Americans have enormous interest in everything that is happening here, and the general secretary could tell them about it.



Jerzy Kraszewski: Do you think that films like Rambo and Amerika are made because of a lack of openness in the USSR?

(Dzheffri) Trimbale: It is difficult for me to judge here, since I have been working abroad 4 years now. But, in my opinion, commerce and profit are the main considerations in those films. The government has nothing to do with them. I work here, read the Soviet press, am cut off from life in America, and do not presume to judge these films or what lies behind them.

Bernard Frederic: I would like to return to the problem of opposition to restructuring. When it is said that there can be no pluralism in a socialist society, I think that it is pluralism in a Western sense that is involved. But a Marxist cannot deny that pluralism of opinions, ideas, and concepts exist in all societies. I have not been in the USSR long but it has been long enough for me to see that pluralism does exist in Soviet society. And it is manifested in all spheres--political, cultural, and social. One of the virtues of openness lies in the attempt to talk openly about existing social contradictions. For too long--and when I speak about this I have in mind not just the CPSU but also the communist parties of other countries, including the French Communist Party--there was a tendency to deny existing contradictions which was incompatible with dialectical thinking. And reality was made to fit a ready-made schema.

In my view, it is very important to understand why what is happening now did not happen before and indeed what a price we have paid for its not having happened earlier. Openness in regard to the past presupposes a recognition that the 70-year path of the country's development has been marked with contradictions and struggle.

There has been a struggle for a new line going on in the political circles of your country for many years. And it seems logical to me that in today's conditions, conditions of democratization, a political mechanism exists that simultaneously lifts slightly the curtain obscuring the past, analyzes the past, places the problem of the present-day struggle in the forefront, and recognizes that the struggle will continue in the future. The magazine NOVOYE VREMYA quoted the following words of Lenin: If we sing in the song "this is our last and decisive battle," then, unfortunately, it is a small untruth...; it is not our last and decisive battle. I think that the concept of "openness" means primarily the struggle for openness. In exactly the same way as democracy is the struggle for democracy.

I think that a very great deal of useful work is being done now. But openness is being established in the political sphere with great difficulty. My colleagues say that you formerly had to read between the lines and that there is no need for this now. I do not share that view. Unfortunately, it is for the time being still necessary to read between the lines. I think it essential to further intensify the process of openness in the political sphere, because the political mobilization of the masses takes place only when they can clearly see for themselves the point and aim of discussions. If in workers' eyes the point of these discussions amounts to improving the provisioning of shops and the work of the service sphere, they will, of course, prefer to

sit back and wait, looking to see what the leadership is doing from time to time.

Uwe Engelbrecht: The January plenum was a turning point in the Western press' coverage of events in the Soviet Union. Hitherto skepticism prevailed. The Moscow forum was the best evidence of this. I met with many forum participants from the FRG, and they said that previously they would not have come to such a forum. The USSR's standing, about which I have already spoken, has grown.

Now about openness. I agree in principle with all the claims about its shortcomings. But as someone who has worked in Moscow not 1, 2, or even 5 years but 6 years altogether I have to say that I am not so interested in the shortcomings as I am struck by its rapidity and consistency. I would note in parentheses that the only person I know who foresaw the inevitability of restructuring throughout the seventies was myself. Thus, I calculated that Gorbachev would make the kind of report he did at the January plenum, only at the 28th CPSU Congress, and no earlier. I still retain some skepticism, but, despite everything, I can see the self-development of the process of restructuring and certain guarantees of its irreversibility.

I am somewhat irritated by the fears regarding opposition to restructuring. It does, of course, exist. But references to some kind of dark forces fighting against restructuring are unjustified. I have already come to understand--and with each day it becomes increasingly clear to me--that the main difficulty, the main opposition lies in a lack of self-confidence on the part of each actual individual, including the champions of restructuring. The other day an acquaintance told me--accurately, in my opinion--that supporters and opponents of restructuring exist are found among janitors and ministers alike. In other words, there is not at present any group or stratum of opponents. I think that opposition groups will take shape in 2-3 years' time. It will then be possible (as it is not now) to attack them and gain the upper hand, because they have no arguments or case.

What strikes me is the surprising political ability of everyone involved in what is happening. I must admit that I have always had a very low opinion of the political maturity of Moscow's creative intelligentsia: All manner of tittle-tattle was picked up here from the Voice of America! Now that people have been given real rights, they show a surprising ability in what they do. What Klimov and his people have done, for example, is brilliant political work. I would never have supposed that they possessed such capacity.

Rajiv Shah: I would like to broach the question raised by the U.S. AND WORLD REPORT correspondent. He noted, in particular, that openness does not extend to international problems. I would like to draw attention in this context to an article by Pimlak, a staffer in the International Workers' Movement Institute, recently published in PRAVDA. He writes that the new thinking must also broach the problem of the class struggle and that the international workers' movement must adopt peaceful methods of waging the struggle. One British newspaper responding to the PRAVDA article drew the conclusion that "Gorbachev is abandoning the class struggle." It failed to appreciate that

Pimlak was expressing a personal opinion. The bourgeois press still does not understand that it is not just official opinions that appear in the Soviet press. I have prepared an article on this topic and discovered a multitude of standpoints in the Soviet press.

Everything now happening in the Soviet Union is being widely discussed by people in India, including the intelligentsia. I am personally interested in the question of why openness began precisely now, and not earlier. One interesting viewpoint expressed to me by Soviet people is that the USSR does not have firm, long-standing bourgeois-democratic traditions or the habit of openness, democracy, and so forth. It is easier to accomplish a revolution in a backward country but more difficult to build socialism there. Gorbachev is now trying to formulate anew the idea of socialist democracy and to build it on a different basis from the forties and fifties. This can be seen, for example, in the draft Law on State Enterprises, which constitutes the first step toward direct democracy.

I can see that an opposition to restructuring and openness does exist and that many people are inhibited by a psychological barrier. When I was in Tashkent I asked a pro-vice chancellor of the local university: "What are the political feelings of the students?" He clearly interpreted my question in the context of the events in Alma-ata and said: "We do not think about Alma-ata and do not discuss what happened in Alma-ata." This was perhaps a case of reticence in front of a foreigner. But I have encountered similar reluctance time and time again, and not just in Tashkent. But most people are very open and gladly answer questions--even provocative ones.

Jerzy Kraszewski: I have worked a total of 11 years, off and on, in the Soviet Union. It is more interesting working here now than at any other time.

How are the processes under way here being received in Poland? I will not be original if I say that they are being received with great interest. And now only because of our historical and geographical closeness but because of the well-known events in Poland in 1981. After all, there was also a positive trend then--a trend toward democratization. However, for many reasons, including those related to the involvement of forces wanting to remove socialism along with its errors, it ended in anarchy and the adoption of appropriate measures.

Poles now compare the situation here with the situation in Poland and look for similarities and differences in the reforms. The party press publishes Gorbachev's speeches in full--readers see them in their original form. There is also great interest in what the Soviet press is writing. Thus the interview with Cardinal Glemp that appeared in an issue of LITERATURNAYA GAZETA was a sellout. There is an important point to make regarding that interview. The Western press notes that it was the first time that the Soviet press had talked with a leader of the Catholic church; and that is true. But there is another truth: For example, even 3 or 4 years back, let alone in the forties, a leader of the Catholic church would never have received a Soviet correspondent. Times are changing, and the Catholic church's attitude to socialism is changing.

Our society is paying attention primarily to the democratization of Soviet society and economic restructuring. Democratization is the result of developing socialist society. You can argue over whether time was wasted and whether socialism was late with democratization. The main thing is that it is an objective and inevitable process.

One more comment. Fears are being expressed here: Will restructuring come to grief? You do run a risk, of course, since restructuring has not been programmed from beginning to end and is a vital process with acute inner contradictions. But I would like to draw attention to another danger--the eternal one. If the arms race continues, if it goes into outer space, restructuring could be put in doubt. The psychological warfare waged against socialism by the West--I don't, of course, mean present company--also poses a threat. Just listen to what Radio Liberty and Radio Free Europe now broadcast to Poland: They are already exploiting the restructuring theme. They say, for example, that certain socialist countries are for restructuring while others are against. Honestly, when you hear that sort of thing, you no longer want any kind of openness. It is not the people who work at the radio stations who need to restructure themselves--they are diverse people who have arrived there by diverse routes. It is time that those who hold the purse strings, those who organize, and those who dream up these concepts restructure themselves.

As for the serious Western press, much is now changing there in a positive way. But until the question of psychological warfare is removed, it will be more difficult for us to resolve our domestic problems. [Kraszewski ends]

The meeting lasted 3 hours, and of course more was said than can be accommodated on one page. The contributions by LITERATURNAYA GAZETA representatives had to be cut to the minimum and certain interesting details removed, for example, when F. Burlatskiy said that he had not heard from the Americans themselves of a single American play, book, or film where the Soviet leadership is presented in a positive light, (Dzh.) Trimble was almost immediately able to name three films: "Fail-safe," "Missiles of October," and "Marooned."

Discussion went beyond our domestic problems. The journalists said that the removal of propaganda stereotypes must be a two-way street and that the changes in the Soviet Union are causing quite a few problems to our friends and foes alike. The participants in the meeting agreed that it was useful and suggested questions for the LITERATURNAYA GAZETA Press Club's next session.

The editorial office thanks its colleagues for their participation in the discussion.

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CSO: 1800/585

CHAIRMAN OF UZBEK FRIENDSHIP SOCIETY INTERVIEWED

[Editorial Report] Tashkent SOVET OZBEKISTONI in Uzbek on 9 January 1987 carries on page 4 a 1,000-word newspaper interview with F. Teshaboyev, Chairman of the Uzbek Friendship Society, entitled "Friendship in the Service of Peace" in which Teshaboyev comments on the goals of the society in conjunction with the opening of the 5th Republic Conference of the Society. Noting that the mass media of many capitalist countries are silent about or distort important events in the domestic and foreign affairs of the USSR, Teshaboyev cites Canadian and Brazilian journalists who confirmed these practices particularly by American journalists. In an effort to counter such distortions the Society works with foreign correspondents in 116 countries, sends them the magazine SOVIET UZBEKISTAN and other necessary information, and answers their inquiries by mail. He cites a letter from British correspondent Graham Bull who writes that friendship societies play an important role in uniting right-thinking people around the world in the quest for peace. The New Zealand correspondent Rodney Bolt writes that he supports the entire complex of Soviet peace initiatives and is proud that his country decided to become a nuclear-free zone. Teshaboyev remarks that local chapters of the Society need to raise the level of their information dissemination and counterpropaganda in order to deal effectively with distortions of the mass media in the West.

CSO: 1836/402

## KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA ON TROTSKIY, KRONSHADT MUTINY

PM201105 [Editorial Report] Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 20 March 1987 carries on pages 1 and 2 under the headline "Commissar of the Baltic" a feature devoted to N.N. Kuzmin, who was commissar of the Baltic Fleet in the twenties.

The material on page 1 consists of a 3-inch by 4-inch photograph of Kuzmin and his daughter taken in 1922, and the following introduction:

"KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA's historical knowledge expedition devoted to great October's 70th anniversary is continuing. Young staffers of the Central Museum of the USSR Armed Forces have discovered previously unknown photographs of M.N. Tukhachevskiy and N.N. Kuzmin, commissar of the Baltic Fleet in the twenties, who, it has now been revealed, owed his life to the future marshal.

"'Come along and see them,' Olga Sergeyevna Tolstova, one of the museum's scientific associates, telephoned the editorial office. 'N.N. Kuzmin was recognized by us on a photograph taken at the monument to liberated labor, which your newspaper published on 20 January. He is standing next to M.M. Lashevich and S.S. Zarin. Now we can show his photograph to the readers. We finally found it....'"

The material on page 2 consists of two 3-inch by 4-inch photographs, one showing M.N. Tukhachevskiy, V.M. Orlov, and A.I. Yegorov in 1934, and the other showing "V.I. Lenin with delegates to the 10th Party Congress, participants in the suppression of the Kronshadt mutiny. 22 March 1921," accompanied by a 1,600-word article by candidate of philological sciences Yu. Marushchak. Marushchak opens with a brief outline of Kuzmin's life and career, saying that his name is to be encountered "also in the Kronshadt chronicles. According to the author, Kuzmin was one of the first to resist the mutineers who later "succeeded in capturing him, arresting him, and throwing him in jail."

The author outlines the events leading to the Kronshadt mutiny and the measures taken to suppress it, saying that "the 7th Army was urgently reformed under the leadership of M.N. Tukhachevskiy and member of the military council B.P. Pozern." A brief biographical note on Tukhachevskiy sums up his military career, ending by saying that "in 1935 he was one of the first five troop leaders to be awarded the rank of Marshal of the Soviet Union."

Marushchak writes about Tukhachevskiy's opposition to the suggested storming of the fortress, and says: "But Trotskiy did not even want to hear about it. Being chairman of the republic's military council and at the same time people's commissar for military and naval affairs, he ordered that the island of Kronshtadt and its adjacent fortresses should be captured by 8 March, when the party congress was due to open in Moscow.

"Trotskiy, who had just suffered a defeat in the discussion on trade unions which he had also forced, decided to repair in this way his prestige among delegates. This is why he insisted, stubbornly and categorically."

The remainder of the article describes the storming of Kronshtadt, the suppression of the mutiny, and the liberation of Kuzmin by units under Tukhachevskiy's command.

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CSO: 1800/582

## PRE-WAR ZHUKOV-STALIN DIFFERENCES RECALLED

PM031007 [Editorial Report] Moscow LITERATURNAYA GAZETA in Russian 1 April 1987 carries on page 11 a 1,300-word article under the "Memory of the Flames of War" rubric entitled "The Battles Raged Until April..." by Professor V. Anfilov, doctor of historical sciences. The author notes criticisms of Marshal Zhukov's conduct, particularly in his role as chief of the general staff on the eve of World War II. Anfilov points out that some intelligence reports went straight to Stalin, bypassing Chief of Staff Zhukov and People's Commissar of Defense Timoshenko, including one that outlined, among various scenarios, the essence of "barbarossa," Hitler's Soviet invasion plan. General Golikov, chief of the intelligence directorate, who had submitted the memorandum in question, when asked about it by Anfilov, said that he "had for the most part believed" the intelligence contained in it but had put forward arguments contesting it when submitting the report to Stalin because they "accorded with Stalin's determined desire to avoid war or at least delay its start." Intelligence data containing facts shorn of all commentary were, however, supplied to Stalin as of May 1941.

According to Anfilov, on 12 June 1941 Zhukov and his deputy drew up a draft directive to place the troops in the western military districts on full combat alert. This was telephoned through to Stalin by Marshal Timoshenko, but Stalin refused to give his assent. The urgent need to put the directive into effect was repeatedly pressed on Stalin by Zhukov in the following days, but permission to execute it was "flatly" refused by Stalin until the evening of 21 June, which, as the author says, was "too late."

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CSO: 1800/582



EARLY BATTLES WITH CENTRAL ASIAN BASMACHI CITED

Frunze PROPAGANDIST I AGITATOR KIRGIZSTANA in Russian No 22, Nov 86  
(signed to press 17 Nov 86) pp 21-23

[Article by candidate of historical sciences A. Kunin: "Lies Cannot Conceal the Truth: Why the Bourgeois Apologists Found It Necessary to Justify the 'Basmachestvo'"]

[Text] "The bitter struggle between the two world outlooks in the international arena reflects the antithetical nature of the two world systems of capitalism and socialism. The CPSU feels itself duty-bound to bring to the people the truth about real socialism, the internal and foreign policies of the Soviet Union, to conduct active propaganda in favor of the Soviet way of life, assertively and persuasively to unmask the antipeople and inhumane nature of imperialism, its exploitative essence. The party will nurture in the Soviet people a high political awareness, the ability to assess social phenomena from a clear-cut class position and defend the ideals and spiritual values of socialist society," states the Program of the CPSU.

Still active in the world today are forces that hope to turn back the forward march of history through threats and various forms of economic blackmail and ideological subversion. In recent years many works have been published in capitalist countries, particularly the United States, which depict our socialist reality through the crooked mirror of imperialist propaganda.

A significant part of this falsified output by bourgeois scribblers is devoted to the establishment of Soviet power in the ethnic regions of Russia, especially Central Asia. The reason behind all this "attention" lies in the socio-political processes taking place in the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America which are freeing themselves from the yoke of capitalism and face the dilemma of what road to take - the capitalist or the socialist? Striving to turn the peoples of these continents away from the path of historical progress bourgeois ideologues are going all out to discredit the achievements of social, economic and national construction in our country, weaken the influence exerted by the Soviet way of life on the developing countries and distort the historical facts pertaining to the participation of the peoples of the Soviet East in the revolutionary events of the Great October.

The socialist revolution awoke broad segments of the toiling masses in Central Asia which lent their active support to all the social and political reforms carried out by the Bolshevik party. It is this support that explains the establishment in Kirghiziya and in the entire country of Soviet power and the formation of Bolshevik groups and organizations as early as November 1917. Lenin called this popular process "the triumphal march of Soviet power." It was accompanied by the ouster of the Provisional government's representatives and the enactment of measures to combat hunger, economic collapse and the landless condition of the peasants.

The toiling masses justifiably linked these cardinal changes in their situation with the new and truly popular system of government, with the Bolshevik party and the name of V. I. Lenin. On 15 November 1918, the residents of the aul (village) of Uch Kurgan held a mass rally which adopted the following resolution: "Support the party of the Bolsheviks-communists with every means at our disposal, not sparing our very lives. Disband the local socialist-revolutionary Soviet and all rural Soviets and elect only Bolsheviks to all of them."

Ties between the Communist party and the broad peasant masses through the Soviets were forged everywhere. On 7 November 1918 the Semirechensk ispolkom received a telegram from Pishpek (now the city of Frunze) which read: "On behalf of the Pishpek rally to honor the first anniversary of the socialist revolution, with up to 10,000 people in attendance representing the local Soviet, the Red Army, the workers, the peasant and the Moslem poor, we send our greetings to our brothers fighting for the social system headed by comrade Lenin."

On 6 September 1919 the delegates to the 6th Congress of Soviets of the Turkestan ASSR addressed a message to V. I. Lenin informing him that the majority of its participants "are communist Moslems who earnestly strive to advance into the thick of the Moslem masses throughout the entire East the ideas of communism and Soviet construction."

Available documents belie the assertion of bourgeois falsifiers that the one mainstay of Soviet power in Turkestan "were Russian settlers regardless of their class origins." It should be noted that this is one of the basic concepts of bourgeois historians writing on the establishment of Soviet power in the ethnic regions. It is, in effect, an attempt to instil the view that the ethnic borderlands of Russia lacked any and all conditions for a socialist revolution, that the population thereof related to the Bolsheviks either with hostility or indifference. With slight variations this thesis is repeated in many "works" by sovietologists.

The triumphant march of Soviet power being installed by the working class in conjunction with the poor peasants provoked the ferocious resistance of the deposed exploiter classes and the international bourgeoisie. Antisoviet propaganda under the guise of a nationalistic Pan-Turkic aspiration to create a "Turkic republic" was unleashed by the bourgeois nationalists, Moslem clerics and hirelings of Anglo-Turkish expansionism in the auls and towns of Turkestan.

In complete contradiction to the reality of history the enemies of the revolution strove to unite the Kirghiz, Uzbeks, Kazakhs, Turkomans and Tadzhiks into one so-called "Turkic nation." The purpose of this scheme was simple - split the ranks of the defenders of Soviet Turkestan, distract the indigenous toiling masses from the vital problems of the revolution, entice them with nationalistic slogans and thereby channel the course of events into a course acceptable to the exploiters.

The principal military force of the internal counterrevolution and international reactionaries were the Basmachi gangs and the bands of kulak settlers who operated jointly with them. Their tactics took the form of undisguised political banditry, of genocide perpetrated not only on the defenders of the revolution and its sympathizers but on all those as well who did not support the insane concepts of Pan-Islamism. The numerous atrocities committed by the Basmachi against the civilian population were made known to the people during the public trials of kurbashi Muetdin and his minions in the city of Osh in September 1922, Rakhmankul in the city of Kokand in November-December 1922, Amanpalvan in the city of Namangan in March 1923, and others. Thousands of single and mass graves of those who perished at the hands of the terrorists in the Fergana and Samarkand regions today serve as weighty indictments of the genocide perpetrated by the bourgeois-nationalist (Basmachi) cutthroats and the kulak gangs.

The facts lay bare the antipeople nature of the Basmachi movement. Nevertheless, bourgeois falsifiers today strive to whitewash the terrorists and plunderers, knowingly suppressing and distorting the truth. The lies disseminated by the bourgeois ideologues are aimed not only at relegating to oblivion the heroic struggle of the peoples of Central Asia for Soviet power but also at pushing through by every available means the thesis that these peoples were in that period "classless," ethnically one, and that the Basmachi were the "advocates" of their interests.

The historical truth, however, is that it is precisely the class struggle that was waged with unparalleled intensity during the Civil war. Reacting to the exploiters' use of the Basmachi in their bid to topple the Soviet government, the toilers of Turkestan displayed genuine revolutionary zeal defending the progressive achievements of the October revolution. Entire ethnic units of the Red Army were formed locally. These include: a Kirghiz brigade of two-regiment strength (one in Andizhan, the other in Fergana), a Kirghiz battalion in Przhevalsk, Kirghiz volunteer battalions commanded by A. Osmonbekov (the Ketmen-Tyubeh - Aflatun region), K. Kamchibekov (the Altai valley), and others. These formations displayed undying loyalty to the cause of the revolution. In July 1920 the Kirghiz cavalry regiment under S. Kuchukov was awarded the Order of the Red Banner, the revolution's highest decoration, for mass heroism, the 16th rifle regiment - the Honorary Revolutionary Red Banner of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee (VTsIK). The Gulchi detachment of volunteer militia-men led by Kadyrbek Kamchibekov boasts a glorious history of struggle and victories.

The operations of the Kirghiz ethnic units of the Red Army were the popular masses' natural reaction to the banditry of the Basmachi and other counter-revolutionaries. The latter's leadership did all they could to shape the bestial frame of mind of the nationalists using surviving religious fanaticism as an ideological smokescreen. The declassé masses that comprised the backbone of the Basmachi bands were duped by the local bourgeoisie and the interventionists into a criminal struggle for interests that were alien to them. The international bourgeoisie's experience in attracting the lumpen-proletariat to its cause to implement its reckless policies dates back to the period of French bonapartism (1848). These policies were carried out on a grand scale during the "crusade" against the October revolution. In our day imperialism has raised international terrorism to the level of state policy, it has become a weapon in the hands of reactionary circles in Western countries.

Acting on the directives of their bosses the sovietologists have broadened the scope of their ideological subversion and are bringing into play new methods of distortion. Traitor to the motherland Baimurza Khait who defected to the Hitlerites during the war and went on to serve the West German imperialists published a book in 1980 in Cologne. In it he extols the Basmachi movement from a militant anticommunist position, viewing it as a tried and tested form of struggle against progressive regimes, and praises the West for its armed support of the Afghan dushman. He calls for an intensification of the struggle against revolutionary Afghanistan which is to be followed by a campaign to "liberate" Turkestan.

The tendentiousness of this bourgeois scribbler and the absurdity of his call are all too obvious. B. Khait, however, is not alone on his rabid anticommunism. In the garbage put out by the ideologues of imperialism the "in" thing now is to distort the meaning of the events in and around Afghanistan. Implementing the ideological "concepts" of the sovietologists, imperialist circles have unleashed an undeclared war on that country. Thousands of their hirelings, bandits and agents armed with American, Pakistani and Egyptian weapons are committing atrocities striving to turn Afghanistan into a base camp for the suppression of progressive movements in Asia, to deprive the country of its national sovereignty and territorial integrity. In their war against government troops the Afghan dushmans use many of the tactics of the Basmachi - striking from ambush, "luring" troops into very difficult terrain, attacking populated areas, etc.

The liquidation of the bourgeois-nationalist Basmachi gangs in Central Asia demonstrated the effectiveness of comprehensive measures. Success was achieved thanks to a clever combination of military operations with political and explanatory work and the enactment of large-scale social reforms. The same methods were used to annihilate bandit gangs in the Ukraine, the Urals and the Far East. Our victory stemmed from the objective laws of development of the revolutionary process and no amount of tricky reasoning by the falsifiers can hide the truth about the October revolution and the Civil War in our country.

The events of the last few years demonstrate that nations which embark on a course of independent development often have to take up arms to repel the onslaught of internal and external counterrevolution. That is why the lessons of the struggle against the Basmachi have lost none of their significance today.

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## HISTORY, PHILOSOPHY

### UZBEKS OBSERVE ANNIVERSARY OF USSR FORMATION

[Editorial Report] Tashkent SOVET OZBEKISTONI in Uzbek on 30 December 1986 carries on page 1 a 1,000-word lead editorial entitled "Single Fraternal Family" which is dedicated to the 64th anniversary of the formation of the USSR. The editorial states that not only has this union of republics survived but it has created unparalleled opportunities for the development of modern industry, intensified agriculture, and science in each of its republics. Where there were barren steppes now appear large reservoirs, hydroelectric plants, irrigation canals, and reclaimed lands. Moreover, the experience gained by Uzbeks in land reclamation is being put to productive use in the Nonchernozem Zone, along the Volga, and in the Northern Caucasus, the Tyumen, and the Far East. During the years of Soviet government, Uzbekistan's scientific and cultural potential has increased enormously. Research by its scholars in the fields of mathematical statistics, biochemistry and organic chemistry, genetics, and seismology is used nationally and abroad. The republic creative collective, supported by progressive traditions of national literature and art, creates works that have become All-Union property.

The editorial states: "For all of this and for our proceeding with bold steps down the path to the future, we are boundlessly grateful to our older brother, the great Russian people for their generosity and tutorship."

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## RUSSIAN CONTRIBUTIONS TO UZBEK DEVELOPMENT NOTED

[Editorial Report] Tashkent SOVET OZBEKISTONI in Uzbek on 21 January 1987 carries on page 1 a 1,100-word editorial entitled "Lenin is Always With Us" which states that the successful solution of the nationality question is one of the true triumphs of Lenin's teachings on nationalities. This triumph firmly established social justice in one of the most complex fields of social relations. The formation of a multinational state, the flourishing of all the country's nationalities, their ever-growing rapprochement, the deep-rootedness of internationalism which governs ethical standards among nationalities, and the coming into existence of a new social and historical unity of peoples--these are the fruits of Lenin's nationality policy. The editorial states: "The great Russian people are body, soul, and heart of this union. The Russian people have been the self-sacrificing model in forming a new society and in fighting for the establishment of Lenin's ideals. Its revolutionary fervor and selfless help have been the foundation for the progressive, multifaceted blossoming of all the country's peoples, including the peoples of Uzbekistan. Soviet peoples of all nationalities view the Russian people with feelings of love, profound respect, and eternal gratitude. They know its great language as their second native language and diligently study it."

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BURLATSKIY CALLS FOR UPDATE OF POLITICAL THEORY

PM161431 Moscow SOVETSKAYA KULTURA in Russian 2 Apr 87 p 3

[Article by Doctor of Philosophical Sciences Fedor Burlatskiy: "Restructuring: The Philosophical Aspect"--capitalized passages within slantlines printed in boldface]

[Text] The further our theory, practice, and social consciousness advance, the more importance attaches to the problem of molding the new thinking. M.S. Gorbachev said in his speech to participants in the international forum "For a Nuclear-free World, for Mankind's Survival": ".../NEW THINKING/ is essential; it is necessary to overcome the mentality, stereotypes, and dogmas inherited from a past which has gone, never to return.... It can be said that we have come the hard way to the /NEW THINKING/, which is intended to bridge the gap between political practice and universal moral and ethical norms."

This is primarily linked, of course, with the problems of war and peace, the problems of international relations. Now it seems obvious to all that a thermonuclear world war would not only destroy modern civilization but would also put a complete end to the existence of all mankind.

This is not the first time people on earth have been faced with the need to radically change their consciousness. There was, for example, the time when they mastered the fire which, until then, had been a source of fear and calamity. Or the time when they recognized that it was not the Sun that circles the Earth, but the Earth that circles the Sun. Without an innovative approach it is impossible to perceive the global, planetary problems in our time and find ways to solve them.

But the new thinking is not restricted to just international problems. It is vitally necessary for understanding the processes occurring in the socialist world, the capitalist world, and the developing countries. In other words, the new thinking affects certain fundamental questions of our philosophy. Its initial premise in this case, too, consists of the sharp changes that occurred in the postwar period and are gathering pace and strength. The main one is the technological revolution, with all its achievements, contradictions, and threats.



Where is the key to bridging the gap between our consciousness and the unusual changes? The dialectics lies in the perception of the technological revolution as presented at the 27th CPSU Congress. It would be no exaggeration to say that it was the dialectical method which was restored at the congress. And that was done on the basis of an analysis of the entire experience accumulated by mankind in the 20th century. Why are we saying that it was restored? Because, in our view, all sorts of vacillations in the approach to this question can be noticed in theoretical thinking over the past decades.

Considerable harm was caused by what could be described as the vulgar and even narrow-minded interpretation of dialectics. The law of the unity and struggle of contradictions, formulated by Marx and Engels and developed by Lenin, was somehow divided in two parts. Unity became the key and almost exclusive feature for the definition of socialism, a source of its development and driving forces. Contradictions became, essentially, a monopolistic principle for analyzing the processes occurring within contemporary capitalism and the entire nonsocialist world and--and this was particularly dangerous from the political viewpoint--in the approach to international problems and the nature of mutual relations between socialist and capitalist countries in the world arena.

We are not going to close our eyes to an obvious fact. Over many decades in the period up to and after World War II, both Marxists and anti-Marxists proceeded from the concept that the contradictory nature of the two world systems would inevitably lead to a military clash, or at least to military rivalry and confrontation. The headlong buildup of nuclear missile weapons proved with increasing clarity the obsolescence of this approach and the need to abandon the logic of the "cold war" imposed by U.S. imperialism on the socialist countries and the entire world. Human thinking could not keep pace with this sharp change in military technology.

Let us note for the sake of fairness that political thinking has often outpaced philosophy in this sphere. For example, even the 20th CPSU Congress in 1956 drew the fundamentally important conclusion that there is no fatal inevitability about war and that contradictions between socialism and capitalism must be resolved on the basis of peaceful coexistence, economic competition, and ideological struggle.

A turning point in this respect was achieved at the 27th CPSU Congress, which produced an analysis of the entire package of problems which socialism and mankind have encountered at the present stage. The organic combination of the problems of unity and the problems of contradiction was, in our view, especially important. The one does not exist without the other.

We also find much that is new in the approach to the question of the machinery, forms, methods, and ways for resolving contradictions. This is an exceptionally important question which has hitherto been insufficiently elaborated from the theoretical viewpoint, and hence we often set sail, without any rudder or rigging, into the philosophical interpretation of new thinking in the international arena. The quest for ways to overcome contradictions, resolve conflict situations, ease international tension, and restore detente

certainly deserves the attention of not only politicians and specialists in international relations, but also of philosophers.

The CPSU leadership was the first to raise the question of the need to rebuff the hostile concept which underlies the separation of powers in two military blocs and is the source of the unrestrained thermonuclear arms race; it was the first to formulate the idea that security problems can be solved only through joint efforts and that we must learn the art of living together. This idea materialized in the 15 January 1986 statement, which outlined an all-embracing, broad, and realistic program for a nuclear-free world, followed by a program for universal and equal security for all peoples.

The new thinking also provides the key to understanding the problems of contemporary socialism and to overcoming hopelessly obsolete dogmas and stereotypes. About contradictions under socialism, first and foremost. Let me refresh memories: The importance of contradictions in socialism was exaggerated in the country during the thirties, and there were even erroneous theoretical and political conclusions along the lines of "the inevitability of class struggle exacerbating as socialist society develops." We also recall how the concept of "exacerbating contradictions within the people" underlay the so-called "cultural revolution" in China. No one needs reminding of the dramatic excesses this produced in practice.

On the other hand, it can be said without exaggeration that, over the last 20-30 years, the contradictions in socialism were hushed up in our theory and in propaganda in particular. The underestimation of contradictions as a source of development for socialism and--I repeat--the entire contemporary world as a whole served as a base for conservative and stagnant thinking and for corresponding practice.

For a long time contradictions under socialism were examined mainly or almost exclusively from one single viewpoint: As the cause of difficulties and negative processes. To put it briefly, as something unsuitable which ought to be overcome or, in other words, "eliminated" as soon as possible. Such "elimination" often boiled down to hushing up the real problems emerging in society.

In the most recent past, when the principle of contradictions has been restored to its rightful position in terms of the analysis of socialism, many philosophers have concentrated their efforts on the question whether these contradictions are antagonistic or nonantagonistic, and whether the one can develop into the other. It was no accident that this topic emerged in our field of vision. It was an attempt to theoretically explain the experience of crises in several socialist countries: in Hungary in 1956; in Czechoslovakia in 1968; in Poland in the late seventies and early eighties; and the "cultural revolution" in China in the sixties.

All this is certainly worthy of attention. We must analyze in greater depth the objective and subjective sources of crisis phenomena and social tension in socialist countries, especially those at the stage of transition from capitalism to socialism, or in countries where subjectivism and voluntarism

in the policy of leading forces become a factor hindering the country's development.

Even so, however, it does seem that the main problem lies on a different plane. This is the perception of contradictions in socialism as the most important driving force in the development process, the internal motor of society's dynamism and competitiveness. It is elementary for Marxists that building socialism means overcoming class antagonisms and shaping a society of friendly working classes. But any attempt to deny nonantagonistic contradictions under socialism and reject their utilization in the interests of development and the elaboration of an appropriate policy would be tantamount to orienting on stagnation in society, weakening the stimuli to scientific and technological progress, and displaying conservatism in theory and practice. To assume that socialism is a society without contradictions or conflicts, a society deprived of competitiveness and struggle, is not only incorrect but also dangerous. This could lead to serious errors in economic and social policy.

Hence the practical conclusion that plurality, competitiveness, and honest struggle are important stimuli to our accelerated development. Workers, peasants, writers, actors, painters, physicians, and waiters--they all compete among themselves in the process of creating material and spiritual wealth and setting examples of top quality labor. And who are the judges? The readers, viewers, and consumers of this wealth, in other words the people. And they, the people, judge in the simplest way possible: They do or do not read books, they do or do not visit theaters, movie theaters, museums, and exhibitions, they do or do not buy various items, they do or do not frequent cafes, and so on. There should be no administrative or power privileges for those who create the wealth, regardless of their position or title, there should be no artificially created shortages in supply in order to force various products on people. We must play fair in the public eye.

This was precisely what Lenin thought in the twenties, when competitiveness was encouraged in the economy, in culture, in literature, and in the fine arts. Not a single one of these trends in culture had either the right or the opportunity to "eliminate" its opponents and establish its monopoly dominance--all of them were face to face with the need to work well, in an interesting and talented fashion.

A second, equally important principle says that specific analysis of a specific situation is the soul of Marxism. How powerfully Lenin put it: the soul of Marxism!

Hence the demand for realism and truth which echoed so loudly at the 27th CPSU Congress. We all can see the gigantic influence it has had on the activity of the mass news media and the creative work done by writers, current affairs specialists, and scientists. The cleansing [ochishcheniye] of society and the development of openness and criticism have organically supplemented the idea of accelerating our entire socioeconomic development. The expansion of the field of public consciousness and discussion to include works like V. Astafyev's "Sad Detective Story," V. Rasputin's "Conflagration,"

Ch. Aytmatov's "The Executioner's Block," T. Abuladze's "Repentance," and many others which raise urgent problems of our society with great spiritual anguish has become a sign of a new and broader overview and quest for ways toward our moral rebirth.

The third principle concerns the correlation of reform and revolution as applied to socialist society. Our philosophy has usually tackled this problem by pondering the processes occurring under the conditions of capitalism. Socialism was a different matter. We were even somewhat ashamed to apply the word "reform" to socialism. We perceived this as some kind of slide toward reformism and revisionism. But it is, after all, perfectly clear that it is impossible to effect any serious transformations in socialist society without resorting to reforms.

This question, incidentally, was examined fundamentally by Lenin in his reports and articles during the transition from "War Communism" to the New Economic Policy. It is sufficient to recall Lenin's articles like "On the Importance of Gold Now and Following the Complete Victory of Socialism," "On Cooperativization," "How We Should Reorganize the Workers and Peasants Inspectorate," "Better Less, but Better," and others. It seems that we must return time and again to precisely these Lenin works, which were not described in the twenties as his political testament for nothing.

Theoretical thinking is now faced with a new idea--the idea of revolutionary transformations under the conditions of socialism. What is its essence? A difficult question. We are talking, in our view, about the features of the depth, radical nature, and quality of the transformations being implemented. We are talking about genuinely structural transformations, and not in their narrow interpretation as changes in the organizational structure and apparatus of management. We are talking about fundamental changes in production relations under conditions in which social ownership dominates.

The goal of these changes is to place the direct producer--worker, peasant, or working member of the intelligentsia--in circumstances which stimulate him to high-quality work and to show profound interest in using the latest achievements of science, engineering, and technology and improving his skills and professionalism. We are talking about a more consistent implementation of our society's fundamental principle of social justice: "From each according to his ability, to each according to his labor."

It is no accident that the question of socialist ownership has occupied such an important position in our theory and practice. We have overcome the view that there are some kind of lower and superior forms of ownership, and we no longer underestimate cooperative ownership and other forms of joint group ownership and opportunities to make extensive use of individual labor under family contracts. The new approach is embodied in numerous resolutions and legislative acts--on the development of cooperativization, on individual labor activity, on the socialist enterprise, on struggle against unearned incomes.

/THE PRESENTATION OF THE QUESTION OF THE CORRELATION BETWEEN SOCIALISM AND DEMOCRACY AT THE CPSU CENTRAL COMMITTEE JANUARY (1987) PLENUM WAS REVOLUTIONARY IN ITS ESSENCE./ Of course, we have known for a long time from Lenin's theoretical works that /THERE CAN BE NO SOCIALISM WITHOUT THE CONSISTENT DEVELOPMENT OF DEMOCRACY./ But it is probably only now that we have understood the entire significance of this principle for the acceleration of our socioeconomic development, the assimilation of the latest achievements of the technological revolution, and the moral renewal of society.

The plenum provided an answer to the worrying question of why some solutions planned by the party are not implemented as swiftly as they ought to be and seem to even be skidding in places. The answers lies in resistance by conservatively inclined cadres, shortcomings in the democratic and legal backing of reforms, and people's passiveness, which has not yet been overcome in many collectives. The election of leaders, openness, constructive criticism, and submission of alternative suggestions--this is the way to transform public opinion into a most important institution in the political system, in decision-making, and in monitoring the efficient and consistent execution of decisions. Of course, the process of democratization must march in step with real changes in the conditions of people's labor and life and with economic and social reforms.

I had an opportunity to work in the political science section of the Moscow forum "For a Nuclear-free World, for Mankind's Survival." There the guests from abroad displayed particularly keen interest in the processes of democratization and the development of openness in our country.

The new thinking and contemporary social practice stimulate a new approach to the understanding of socialism as a whole, of its humanitarianism and its moral and ethical criteria. As M.S. Gorbachev said in one of his speeches, no system is entitled to exist unless it serves man.

It is universally known that the gains of contemporary socialism have been accompanied by many negative phenomena. And this applied primarily to the attitude to people. Is there any need to say that phenomena like the personality cult, unjustified repressions, and the exaggeration of the role of coercion caused enormous damage to socialism and compromised it in the eyes of world public opinion.

And let no one be frightened by the idea of /ETHICAL SOCIALISM/ as an important component of scientific socialism. Socialism has a simple and obvious goal: The prosperity and culture of the working man. Everything else--industry and socialization--is a means to attain this goal. On one occasion after Marx' death, Engels wittily remarked that if Marx were to make the acquaintance of some of his followers, he would exclaim: "I am no Marxist."

Our classics substantiated scientific socialism in struggle against the illusions of utopians who thought and wrote primarily about man. But Marx and Engels not only did not reject the ethical principles of socialism, its humanitarianism and its humane and civilized nature; on the contrary, they cruelly ridiculed pseudocommunists who repudiated culture and civilization and essentially repudiated capitalism from positions of stone-age thinking.



This is what Marx wrote about crude barracks communism as the "diseased shadow" of scientific socialism. "This communism, repudiating everywhere man's /INDIVIDUALITY/, is nothing but a consistent expression of private ownership.... Every private owner as such feels--/AT LEAST/ toward any /RICHER/ private owner--envy and eagerness to level down. Crude communism is only the final form of this envy and this leveling, based on an /IDEA/ about a certain minimum. It does have a /CERTAIN LIMITED/ yardstick. The fact that the abolition of private ownership is by no means its genuine assimilation is evident precisely from the abstract repudiation of the entire world of culture and civilization, from the return to the /UNNATURAL/ simplicity of the /POOR/ and coarse man who has no needs, who not only has not elevated himself above the level of private ownership, but has not even grown tall enough to reach this level."

It is obvious that, in terms of the future of contemporary socialism, the new thinking makes particularly great demands on the development of theoretical thinking. And primarily on the development of a theory of the political economy of socialism, capable of summing up the gigantic practical experience in socialist development in the USSR and the other 14 countries of the world socialist system. Particular attention ought to be given to the question of the interaction of production forces and production relations, plan and market, the law of value and savings on outlay, the transition from an extensive to an intensive economy, and ways to fundamentally restructure production relations and management under the conditions of dominant social ownership.

Equal importance attaches to the development of the sociology of socialism, of a science capable of providing a specific analysis of class and social groups including labor collectives, of nations and national relations, of actually existing contradictions and the ways to use them in the interests of the country's accelerated development; of the social causes of increasing crime, corruption, alcoholism, drug addiction, common prostitution, and other social ills and ways to overcome them via major social reforms.

Great tasks also face political science, studying the institutions of the Soviet political system and supplying scientifically substantiated recommendations for the further democratization of society, primarily at the level of labor collectives and local self-management, and assisting the practical defense of individual rights and freedoms and the enhancement of the role and influence of public opinion.

And the attention of social and political psychology is focused on the problem of the human factor and ways to educate the socialist individual--active, resourceful, competent, capable of making the most of the achievements of the modern technological revolution, and profoundly devoted to the socialist ideals.

Finally, philosophy is in need of serious development: Elaboration of the key Marxist principle concerning unity and the struggle of opposites, as well as systematic analysis in order to study socialist society and all entire contemporary mankind, the problems of world philosophy, and the prevention of thermonuclear war.

It would be incorrect to claim that none of these problems has been elaborated by our social sciences. On the contrary, much has been written on almost every one of the aforementioned trends in theoretical thinking. But now we are talking about an approach founded on new thinking and backed by economic, social, and political practice. It would be naive to assume that the revolutionary efforts being made in social life could be implemented without any corresponding changes in our social sciences.

Just one more point--about the interconnection of the processes of domestic development and the country's foreign policy. This interconnection is determined primarily by the organically inherent principled approach to all the transformations being implemented and their systematic nature. Now it is even difficult to say what exerts more influence on public opinion, not only inside the country but also in the international arena--the reforms being implemented in the USSR or our struggle for a nuclear-free world all over the planet.

And so, the new thinking is gathering pace. Both in practice and in theory. The future belongs to it.

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CSO: 1800/584



## SOVIET PHILOSOPHERS DEFEND 'SOVIET MAN'

[Editorial Report] Baku KOMMUNIST in Azeri on 30 January 1987 carries on page 2 a 2,100-word article by F. Asadov, candidate of historical sciences, and K. Huseynov, candidate of philosophical sciences, claiming that "ideologists of capitalism--modern anticommunists of various beliefs--are trying to falsify in all ways the significance of the possibilities that socialism and communism open up to mankind"; the title of the article is "The Contemporary Ideological Struggle and the Human Problem." In this context, they maintain that "even the chairman of the Board for International Broadcasting was forbidden the use of 'Soviet man' and 'Soviet morality' in these broadcasts. Our class opponents are trying to replace collectivism with bourgeois individualism, internationalism with colonialism, and socialist humanism with an abstract bourgeois humanism. These gentlemen who serve capitalism are intentionally closing their eyes to spiritual achievements like the Soviet people--which is a social organization never before seen in history--Soviet man, the feeling of national pride, and the Soviet character."

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WESTERN CLAIMS OF NATIONALITY-RELIGIOUS IDENTITY DEBUNKED

Frunze PROPAGANDIST I AGITATOR KIRGIZSTANA in Russian No 24, Dec 86  
(signed to press 15 Dec 86) pp 25-27

[Article by G. Volter: "The Trojan Horse of Bourgeois Sovietologists"]

[Text] One of the bourgeois sovietologists' newest "inventions" is to set off the peoples of the USSR against each other by nationality and religion. Pursuing their own selfish antisoviet goals they proclaim that the distinctive characteristics of the former and the dissimilarities of the latter are irreconcilable differences.

The centerpiece of the bourgeois political scientists' theoretical constructions is the antiscientific notion that the national and the religious are identical. This concept has taken deep root in Western bourgeois sociology. What they are counting on is that in the minds of some people nationality and religion, which took centuries to form, have merged into one. Our ideological opponents from the imperialist camp have lost no time in using this socio-psychological phenomenon to slander the Soviet Union and real socialism. The most energetic of them are hoping that in the consciousness of the Soviet peoples the religious will eventually prevail over the materialistic and that coupled with national origin the religious will push the Soviet nations back into their national/religious "divisions," thus leading to the ultimate disintegration of the Soviet state. The anticommunists are sparing no effort to disseminate their theoretical disquisitions in our country, pinning their fondest hopes on the allegedly strong religiousness of the peoples of the Soviet East. The West German theoretician G. Brekker, for example, sees in Islam a "special force that manifests itself by its opposition to marxism-leninism." Islam, he asserts, is a practical religion that differs from orthodox Christianity and "does not lend itself to regulation from outside." It makes its adherents "flexible" in relation to other ideas and other behavioral patterns. The vast majority of bourgeois political scientists claim that the very nature of Islam, for which faith and everyday living, religion and nationality are inseparable, is such as to reject socialism and atheism. Declaring the religiousness of the "Islamic people" to be everlasting and immutable, they strive to implant in the consciousness of the toiling masses of Central Asia the notion that Islam is an external fixture of national life, the guardian of national values, and that non-observance of religious ritual is a betrayal of the heritage handed down by the forefathers, a demonstration of disrespect for the nation and its culture.

Western ideologues, acting in unison with reactionary Moslem clerics, are trying to convince the faithful that adherence to Islam obligates the believer to be an anticommunist, fight socialism, and be in opposition to the Soviet system. It is obvious that the aim of this propaganda effort is not only to fan the religiousness of the population of Central Asia, but likewise to sow the seeds of distrust and enmity between people, to foster nationalism. In their antisoviet effort they vigorously encourage the lingering loyalty to old customs that characterize the backward segments of our population, cultivate religious conventions and rituals, passing them off for national tradition. In the view of bourgeois ideologues this is the course that can create a breeding ground for perverted "national" feelings, foster distrust toward "infidel" nations and stimulate religious fanaticism and extremism.

Also intended to support and help the spread of Islam are numerous fabrications about the CPSU and the Soviet state accusing them of "harsh persecution" of the Moslem religion and its faithful and even of endeavoring to "liquidate" religion, such liquidation being the "principal precondition for the construction of socialism." Cited as proof is the objective process of the dying away in our country of conservative and reactionary customs and traditions. In the sovietologists' interpretation these are nothing less than "authentic attributes of national life," a manifestation of the "national culture," and so on and so forth.

These assertions hardly merit denial. Scurrilous lies and slander cannot undermine the faith of the Soviet people, who are both witnesses to and the creators of socialist reality, in the correctness of the policy pursued by the party and the Soviet state vis-a-vis religion and the church, policies which stem from the fundamental principles of marxism-leninism. "We realize," wrote K. Marx, "that coercive measures against religion are pointless, but our opinion is this: religion will fade away to the same extent that socialism develops. Its total disappearance must come as a result of societal evolution in which a major role belongs to education."

Soviet reality confirms this prediction. Like any other religion, Islam has become a matter of a person's private convictions, it influences only his personal life and is losing more and more ground to a socialist, non-religious consciousness. The vast changes that have occurred in the lives of the toilers of Central Asia, including Kirgizia, are the root cause of their break with religion.

In pushing "Islamism," "Moslem uniqueness" and the "heightened religiousness" of the people of the Caucasus, Central Asia and Kazakhstan bourgeois political scientists are pursuing a number of well-mapped objectives: created a "united wave of Islamism" that would place itself in opposition to the other people of the USSR, undermine their friendship and cultivate mistrust and hostility between them.

It is on this score that we must address our first objection in principle to the bourgeois ideologues: precisely what "Moslem nation" do they have in

mind in their theoretical/propagandistic "works"? The question is reasonable because, strictly speaking, world history knows no such nation and never did. There are a number of nations and nationalities in the world, including the Soviet Union, some of whose representatives continue to profess the Moslem religion, but this is by no means a factor that fuses them into one organism.

Also beneath criticism is the bourgeois sovietologists' lumping together of the indigenous population of the Soviet East into a "Moslem-Soviet" people. This is not only because every socialist nation is endowed with its own objective characteristics, but for the simple reason as well that the overwhelming majority of their representatives are no longer Moslems, i.e., adherents to Islam. The dominant social consciousness of these nations is a marxist-leninist, materialistic ideology and a socialist psychology. According to sociological studies, in the Uzbek SSR, one of Islam's historic centers, religion holds sway over 11-12 percent of the workers, 30 percent of the kolkhozniks and a little over 5 percent of the white-collar workers. In Kirgizia, never noted for its strong affiliation with orthodox Islam, the numbers are much lower. It can be safely asserted that over 70 percent of the population of the formerly traditional Moslem areas has by this time broken with religion and only about 10 percent of the citizens are active believers. It is, therefore, obvious that the "Moslem nation" concept has no basis in fact: such a nation simply does not exist.

Do the bourgeois "specialists" on relations between nationalities in the USSR know this? Of course they do, yet resort to outright falsification and lies. Their true intentions are betrayed when some in the West speak of the "possible emergence of a Moslem federation" on the southern border of the USSR with the loss by the Soviet Union of part of its territory. This, then, is what they are planning - the subversion of the territorial integrity of the USSR, no less!

The bourgeois sovietologists are banking on religion because they see it also as a counterweight to the internalization of public life in the Soviet Union and the ongoing consolidation of the socio-economic, political and ideological unity of Soviet society that are the main obstacle to the imperialists' aggressive plans to weaken the USSR. One of the tools employed in the pursuit of this goal is the newborn myth cooked up by Western sovietologists and blown out of all proportion alleging an Islamic resurgence in the south of our country and ascribing it to the revolutionary events in Iran and Afghanistan.

Can one agree with the anticommunists' thesis about the "revolutionizing influence" of these movements on the Moslem nations of the Soviet Union? Absolutely not. The truth is that in the historical perspective the revolutions in Iran and Afghanistan are themselves the logical consequence of the enormous influence that the October revolution exerted and continues to exert on the people of the East.

Notwithstanding, the antisoviet propaganda centers of the West keep on their ceaseless jabber about the "growing" role of Islam in the public and political life of the Soviet Union, about an "Islamic renaissance." It is a concerted

effort by the antisoviet centers of the West and a wide network of radiostations sited in close proximity to Soviet borders. The numerous transmitters of such well-known stations as Liberty, The Voice of America, The German Wave and the BBC have had their numbers reinforced by several others, in particular the so-called Gorgan radio which broadcasts from the territory of Iran. In addition to notable anticommunists from the imperialist West, including the FRG, these stations employ antisoviets from right-wing Moslem organizations based in Near and Middle Eastern countries. This malevolent pack which masquerades as "champions of freedom" for the peoples of Central Asia consists of former basmachi, beys and representatives of the national bourgeoisie swept away by the wrath of the people during the Civil war, emigrés of the "second wave," traitors to the Motherland all who defected to the German aggressors, as well as those who pretend to represent a "third wave" but who in fact are defectors and non-returnees of the last few years. Obediently doing the will of their new masters from the CIA, these people stop at nothing to distort the nature of the processes unfolding in the Soviet Central Asian republics, present in a false light the status of Islam and the life of Moslems in Soviet society and to compromise in the eyes of the world the social policies of the land of concrete socialism. They are infuriated by the enormous successes achieved by the peoples of Soviet Central Asia thanks to the development of the economy, science and culture. They would dearly love to put a stop to social progress and push the "Moslem" nations back into the age of feudalism, patriarchal relations, medieval backwardness, poverty and religious obscurantism.

But do the peoples of Central Asia want that to happen? This is a question that their self-styled "benefactors" forgot to ask them. There can be no doubt that the Soviet people who have experienced first-hand the advantages of socialism would have given them (and are giving) the rebuff they deserve.

What particularly enrages the traitors and renegades are the inevitable processes taking place in Islam under the influence of socialist and concrete historical factors such as the mass retreat of the working people, especially the young generation, from religion, the waning prestige of Islam, the shift in its political orientation, the support by the clergy of the socialist state and its internal and foreign policies. What matter is it to them that these processes reflect the overall crisis of religion?

The ideological enemy is perfidious, cruel and artful. He utilizes to his advantage the remnants of old-time tradition in the consciousness and the public life of our country and uses them as a "crowbar" for breaking and entering into our grand Soviet home.

It is the duty of all Soviet activists, using the entire counter-propaganda arsenal at their disposal, to check the ideological sabotage of our enemies, to neutralize its impact on the Soviet people.

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## RUMORS ABOUT PERSECUTION OF ISLAM IN UZBEKISTAN SQUELCHED

[Editorial Report] Tashkent SOVET OZBEKISTONI in Uzbek on 15 January 1987 carries on page 2 a 2,600-word article by own special correspondent A. Rahimberdiyev entitled "We Must Not Tolerate Ills" in which he publishes statements by several officials concerning the growing influence of Islam in Uzbekistan in recent years and the resultant violations of Soviet laws concerning religion.

O.A. Rustamov, Representative to the Uzbek SSR of the Council of Religious Affairs of the USSR Council of Ministers, states that rumors are being spread that mosques are being closed and religious people are being persecuted. However, he asserts, there is absolutely no basis for such rumors. They are fabrications that slander Soviet reality and the right of every citizen in the nation, including in Uzbekistan, to freedom of conscience, as guaranteed in the Soviet Constitution. Moreover, he notes, those who attend the mosques, Orthodox churches, and Baptist and Adventist churches in Uzbekistan know that these rumors are false. Although the majority of official religious organizations understand and value the democratic attitude of the Soviet state toward religion, he points out that some religious people and organizations violate Soviet laws.

Rustamov cites the example of the official Qoshchinor Mosque in Dzhizak Rayon which recently erected a new building in an illegal fashion. The new mosque complex comprises 750 square meters of land and required 434 cubic meters of lumber, 230,000 bricks, and 10 tons of plaster, evaluated at R255,000. The mosque director carried out this work while local government organs looked on indifferently. Similar cases have taken place in Zamin and Gallaaral Rayons. Rustamov cites a second example in which Ahmadkhan Azizkhajayev, former Imam of the Mahmud Ishan Mosque in Namangan City, secretly sold pictures depicting Mecca and pocketed the money. Although Azizkhajayev himself has never been to Mecca he deceived religious women into thinking that the purchase of these pictures would mean they had made the pilgrimage. This fraud was sentenced to five years in prison. A third example discussed by Rustamov concerns the Mirza Yusuf Mosque in Kirov Rayon of Tashkent. The mosque registered with the rayispolkom for repair on its walls, but illegally erected additional buildings during the course of this repair work. Although the additional construction was halted the mosque director went from agency to agency to file complaints. Rustamov states that this is how all these rumors are starting.



Rustamov points out that every religious group can begin its activities only after registering with state organs in accordance with Soviet laws concerning religious ceremonies, and that after registration they must comply with all laws. However, some unofficial groups conduct their work clandestinely. Fake mullahs, fortune-tellers and exorcists present themselves as religious leaders for the purpose of accumulating personal wealth and spreading their poisonous customs and superstitions among the people. Such people as A. Mukhin, leader of the clandestine Evangelist Baptist Church in Fergana City, who was criminally prosecuted and sentenced to five years in prison for unofficial religious activities, are fakes who break the law. Rustamov asserts that they are criminally prosecuted for breaking the law, not for their beliefs, and that it is they who spread these rumors about persecution.

A second official, Tashkent Obkom Secretary Shukur Kamolkhojayev, states that atheistic education work in the oblast is plagued by formalism, paperwork, empty talk, and excessive measures. Some communists have an unprincipled attitude toward religion and even play the hypocrite with clerics. In the workplace they are atheist, but at home and in the neighborhood they two-facedly participate in religious ceremonies. Last year, eight communists like this were expelled from the party and 15 were severely reprimanded with notations in their party books. Some communists think they are unjustly punished for merely attending mourning ceremonies. Kamolkhojayev states that no one is ever persecuted for paying condolences to the deceased, but participation in religious funeral rites is completely alien to being a communist. He concludes that such two-faced communists stain the prestige of the party and shame their Marxist-Leninist convictions.

Professor Doctor of Philosophy A. Ortiqov comments on the need to differentiate religious customs from national customs that have nothing to do with religion. Those who are modernizing Islam are trying to falsify the reactionary role it has played in Uzbek history and to conceal the fact that it has seriously impeded national progress. They seek to link the high ethical qualities of the Uzbeks to Islam. However, Ortiqov states, morality is as old as the people and an integral part of every people's culture. Uzbek ethical qualities have survived over the centuries not thanks to Islam but because they were spread prior to Islam.

#### PRACTICE OF RELIGIOUS FUNERAL RITES AMONG UZBEKS RAPPED

[Editorial Report] Tashkent SOVET OZBEKISTONI in Uzbek on 21 January 1987 carries on page 4 a 2,000-word article by A. Boyqoziyev entitled "Mourning to One, but to Another..." in which he discusses the practice of religious funeral rites among the Uzbeks. He cites the case of the funeral of a man named Hamdamboy in Izbaskan Rayon of Andizhan Oblast. Hamdamboy was survived by a young widow and five children. On the first Thursday after the funeral people came to their home for a ceremony in which an old woman recites passages from the Koran, guests are served tea and cakes, and various presents are given. After the first Thursday, there were similar ceremonies on the Twenty-Day, the Forty-Day, the Small Hayit, the Large Hayit, and finally the Year. Besides the food and beverages, four lambs were slaughtered. The widow fell heavily into debt.



The author refers to a number of such customs connected with the marking of periods following the death of someone. In many places, the survivors of the deceased hand out money (10-25 R apiece) to all the invited male guests, shirts or dresses to the invited females, and scarves to the others. They pay mullahs to perform services, women to recite the Koran, and others to cater the parties. He criticizes the atheistic work carried out by the Akaltin Village Soviet where most of his examples originate. Due to their neglect the holding of funeral rites remains in the hands of the religious. He urges activists to go to the homes of the bereaved and take matters into their own hands, and representatives of party, trade union, and komsomol organizations to arrive at homes before the religious in order to set a modern tone. He notes that recently certain poisonous individuals have spread rumors that it is permissible to go to the homes of the bereaved and to cemeteries only on Memorial Day. In fact, Memorial Day is intended as a time when all nationalities, regardless of their religion, can recall their loved ones and the services of noted ones to the people.

#### UZBEK SAINTS EXPOSED AS FREEDOM FIGHTERS

[Editorial Report] Tashkent OZBEKISTON ADABIYOTI VA SAN"ATI in Uzbek on 23 January 1987 carries on page 7 a 1,600-word newspaper interview with Doctor of History A. Muhammadjonov, section chief at the Archeology Institute of the Uzbek SSR Academy of Sciences, entitled "Are Saints Sacred?" in which he comments on two tombs regarded as the burial sites of saints by the religious. One such holy site is in Tarab Village of Sverlov Rayon of Bukhara Oblast. Archeological excavations revealed that in fact there were no remains of any kind in this tomb. Ethnographic and other evidence indicated that this monument belonged to the 13th century. Historical records contained the information that the craftsman Mahmud Tarabi, who was born in the village in 1238, led the people of Bukhara in a people's revolt against the Mongol invaders and was killed. Tarabi has always enjoyed great prestige in the people's memory. Although his remains were not recovered from the battlefield the villagers established a monument to him as an expression of love for their heroic son. Over the years the monument retained its essential value, but its true history was lost. Clerics took advantage of this and gave it a superstitious aura and then turned it into an Islamic place of worship. Muhammadjonov comments: "And this is how false saints originate."

He discusses a second instructive site, that of the "saint" Shibirdon-ata in Karakul Rayon of Bukhara Oblast. Archeological excavations at this site revealed the bones of several people hastily buried in the manner of the 13th century. Ethnographic research among the local people turned up the information that this tomb was actually called Shirburdon, that is, that it was connected with the name of Shoabdurahmon, a simple shepherd who became famous under the name of Sutchi-ota. Like Tarabi, he fought and died in the people's revolt against the Mongols. Although his bones remained on the battlefield the villagers built him a tomb. Over seven centuries this was forgotten and the tomb was exploited by clerics.

## UZBEKS CRITICIZED FOR HANGING AMULETS FROM CAR MIRRORS

[Editorial Report] Tashkent SOVET OZBEKISTONI in Uzbek on 22 January 1987 carries on page 3 a 1,500-word article by H. Khalilov entitled "Cars with Amulets" in which he criticizes the practice of hanging religious amulets and rosaries from the rear-view mirrors of vehicles. He states that in recent times numerous trade workers, warehousemen, bookkeepers, cashiers, and statisticians have been hanging these amulets in their cars in the foolish belief that they will be protected from accidents and also forgiven for their sins. He is particularly scornful of teachers, medical workers, and komsomol members who follow this practice. In the article, he gives long lists of names of people and their license plate numbers, and urges leaders of primary party organizations and other agencies to work with such people.

## INVITATIONS TO RELIGIOUS CEREMONIES POSTED AT UZBEK MINISTRY

[Editorial Report] Tashkent SOVET OZBEKISTONI in Uzbek on 27 January 1987 carries on page 3 a 1,500-word article by own correspondent A. Mannopov entitled "Conscience Must Not Be Stained" in which he discusses the case of the Special Communications Sector of the Uzbek SSR Ministry of Communications where invitations to religious ceremonies have been posted on the bulletin board. One example reads: "Dear comrades! I invite you to a banquet to be given in connection with my son's circumcision ceremony. Tokhtamurod Yusupov. (Address and date)" Another example reads: "Dear comrades! I invite you to come for the Twenty-Day feast for my deceased father. Q. Pirmatov. (Address and date)"

According to the author, those who posted these announcements were communists. Moreover, the sector's administration, party and komsomol organizations, and activists were all aware of it. Clearly, political education and atheistic work were unsatisfactory in this collective. Several members said they had reported this to the sector chief Toirov and others said they thought such announcements should be torn down. Mannopov asks whether communists or conscientious people need permission to tear down such notices, and whether the sector chief's excuse that he was on vacation is really valid? After all, the practice has been going on since 1979. He points out that such religious ceremonies are led by semiliterate, parasitical mullahs while communists, komsomol members, and even some leaders participate.

Mannopov states that recently the Tashkent Gorkom Buro met to discuss the work of this sector's party organization and concluded that it had deviated from the demands of the CPSU Rules and utterly abandoned atheistic education work. Its chief Sh. Toirov and komsomol organization secretary S. Tursunov were expelled from the party. Secretary of its primary party organization K. Hikmatullayeva and deputy for political education work N. Vahobov were severely reprimanded with notations in their party books.

#### UZBEK FORTUNE-TELLER EXPOSED

[Editorial Report] Tashkent SOVET OZBEKISTONI in Uzbek on 21 January 1987 carries on page 4 a 400-word article by Muqaddas Eshonkhojayeva, member of the women's council and chairwoman of the comrade's court in Ittifoq Makhalla, Section 4, of Andizhan City, entitled "Don't Believe in Fortune Tellers" in which she discusses the case of a 30-year old woman named Marvar Bobokhojayeva, who does not have a job but engages in fortune-telling and exorcism. A number of religious women in the makhalla believe in this fortune-teller and place themselves in her hands. Eshonkhojayeva does not believe in her powers and has not met a single person who was cured by her exorcism. In her opinion, only women sunk in the bog of the past believe in her and futilely spend their money and time on her. The author urged women of the makhalla not to visit the fortune-teller, and makhalla officials and activists talked with her several times. Whereas lines of cars used to sit before her gate, Marvar Bobokhojayeva began to see her clients individually, always for the purpose of gaining unearned income. At last she was arrested. Eshonkhojayeva also cites the case of 49-year old Manzura Qosimova, who was secretly giving religious lessons to children in her home until she was stopped.

#### UZBEK ATHEISTIC PUBLICATION REVIEWED

[Editorial Report] Tashkent SOVET OZBEKISTONI in Uzbek on 8 January 1987 carries on page 2 a 500-word review by Docent and Candidate of Philosophy A. Zohidov entitled "Important Handbook" in which he discusses the recently published "Nature, Man, and Religion" ("Fan" Publishing House) by Docent T. Javliyev. The book deals with the role of scientific knowledge in establishing an atheistic outlook among the rural population of Uzbekistan. It is based on systematically gathered observations, conversations, and sociological data, and demonstrates shortcomings in utilizing scientific and natural knowledge in atheistic work. In some cases it is impossible to determine whether the author of the book is discussing Islamic, Pre-Islamic, or Non-Islamic beliefs. Nonetheless, the work constitutes valuable and practical research aimed at placing atheism on a natural scientific basis, and will be of great benefit in atheistic work.

#### UZBEK MULLAH RENOUNCES PAST

[Editorial Report] Tashkent SOVET OZBEKISTONI in Uzbek on 23 January 1987 carries on page 4 a 500-word article by F. Zohidov entitled "Confession" in which he recounts the case of Madraim Safojev from Yangiabad Village in Kushkupir Rayon of Khorezm Oblast. Safojev's father was a cleric, so he was immersed in religious customs and studied with mullahs who filled his head with empty talk. Eventually, through this association, Safojev was called a mullah, and gullible people made trips to see him. He would recite the Koran, utter prayers, and so forth, and receive donations and gifts. Because he fasted constantly he became ill. Religion made him physically weak and spiritually depressed. Finally, he removed himself from the mullahs and rejected their source of unearned income. Today, Safojev says, he does honest labor on a kolkhoz and lives a prosperous and happy life.

Zohidov comments that while most people do not believe in superstitions, those with weak conviction and will fall into the trap of deceivers who spread the germ of the past and consequently suffer material and spiritual harm. He cites the case of the teacher Z. Olloberganova in Khiva Rayon who allows women to use her home for the reading of religious books. He states that there are over 30 fake mullahs living as parasites in Khiva City. While he agrees that admitting one's errors and shortcomings is good, it is more important to rid atheistic work of the formalism, passivity, and indifference that continue to hamper its effectiveness.

#### RELIGIOUS INFLUENCE BATTLED IN UZBEK VILLAGE

[Editorial Report] Tashkent SOVET OZBEKISTONI in Uzbek on 29 January 1987 carries on page 4 an 800-word article by T. Razzoqov entitled "The Mullah Is in Retreat" in which he discusses efforts of teachers in Kuyavsuv Village in Altinsay Rayon of Samarkand Oblast to combat the influence of religions. In one case a teacher named Muhammad Qodirov was able to expose the fakeness of a self-styled mullah named Kholmira Elmurodov with whom he had gone to school. Other teachers have helped improve atheistic education by serving as propagandists and organizers of mass political work. For example, they invited veterans to a school meeting to share their memories of the war years and urge students to live in a spirit of communist conviction free from religious and mystical beliefs. Today, a number of villagers have held weddings without calling in the mullah to read the vows, and in general the observance of religious ceremonies in the village is being curtailed.

#### UZBEK FORTUNE-TELLERS RAPPED

[Editorial Report] Tashkent SOVET OZBEKISTONI in Uzbek on 30 January 1987 carries on page 3 a 500-word article by G. Qayumov entitled "Fortune-Tellers Must Be Stopped!" in which he cites the case of Soliha Qurbonova who tells fortunes with cards on Wednesdays and Saturdays to women who line up in her courtyard to find out who will suffer and who will fall ill. A group of students visited this fortune-teller in order to prepare a satirical piece for an evening program on atheistic education and found out that every one of her insights and predictions was wrong. Unfortunately, there are numerous foolish people addicted to old customs who believe in her and provide a source of unearned income. According to Qayumov, most of those who believe in fortune-tellers and the like are middle-aged housewives who do not work anywhere. He urges that educational work among them be intensified and improved.

## UZBEK CUSTOMS SAID ROOTED IN PRE-ISLAMIC BELIEFS

[Editorial Report] Tashkent OZBEKISTON ADABIYOTI VA SAN"ATI in Uzbek on 19 December 1986 carries on page 5 a 1,700-word article by Sayfiddin Jalilov, docent at Andizhan Pedagogical Institute, entitled "If You Look at the Roots..." in which he points out that historical, archeological, and ethnographic studies show that many superstitious beliefs thought of as Islamic actually have roots in primitive beliefs like animism or go back to Pre-Islamic customs. In his opinion, the reason that such ancient superstitions are so tenacious is that they were rooted in patriarchal family life and later were given an Islamic appearance. Some people, especially in rural families and urban trade families, cling to the old way of life and do not make any distinction between archaic customs and those later propagated by Islam. For example, such practices as protecting a child from the evil eye or treating illness by slaughtering a chicken have nothing to do with Islam at all. Although purely Muslim customs have increasingly disappeared during the Soviet period, these archaic beliefs have proven to be much stronger.

Jalilov points out that the continued survival of ancient beliefs is also due to errors and shortcomings in atheistic education: "Were we to judge by the reported results of atheistic education, then people do not go to worship at holy sites and women do not consult exorcists, light candles at [the holy site] Bibi-seshanba, or throw salt on the ground. Obviously, false reporting and deception are widespread." He urges that atheistic work be restructured. One priority is to pay more serious attention to the methodological and scientific side of the problem. Daily atheistic work is hampered by the neglect of Islamic studies. Archeological and ethnographical research, as well as studies on Pre-Islamic ideology and customs, are needed in order to be able to differentiate Pre-Islamic from Islamic customs and beliefs. These scientific studies on Islam should distinguish between Islam in Central Asia and Islam in the Caucasus, Volga, and even the East. Such study would create a concrete methodological literature on atheistic propaganda.

Finally, Jalilov notes that the field of atheistic propaganda requires people who are knowledgeable, keenwitted, and ideologically committed. Currently, there are too many propagandists who cannot give a convincing response to questions because their atheistic conviction is weak or their knowledge is scant.

## POLLS HELP UZBEK RAYKOM REBUILD ATHEISTIC WORK

[Editorial Report] Tashkent SOVET OZBEKISTONI in Uzbek on 13 December 1986 carries on page 2 a 1,300-word article by own correspondent J. Mamatov entitled "How Should We Begin?" in which he discusses the efforts of the Bulungur Raykom of Samarkand Oblast to restructure its ideological and atheistic education work. He recalls that prior to a meeting of the rayon party aktiv on March 22 the automobiles of those attending were inspected and it was found that religious talismans were hanging in the windows of many leaders' automobiles. Not one of the leaders could give an adequate explanation of this other than to say such talismans protected them from accidents on the road. Clearly, there are many communists in the rayon who do not understand the need to restructure atheistic work. Other cases that cause alarm include the building of a mausoleum for a "saint" named Khoja Hafiz on Sovkhoz imeni Fazil Yoldash and the betrayal of their oaths of various communists who cling to bourgeois ideology and religious superstitions.

Mamatov points out that there are 350 propagadists, 64 political information officers, 25 speakers, 409 agitators, and 375 Znaniye lecturers in the rayon, and yet religious vestiges are widespread. The raykom met to criticize the formalism and deception which prevail in atheistic work, and demanded that leaders and communists begin to take their duties in this area seriously. Furthermore the raykom distributed a questionnaire and analyzed its results. Of the 330 people who responded 49 believed in religion, 28 observed the fasting requirement, 60 had never taken part in lectures, talks or evenings on atheistic themes, and only 20 considered themselves atheists. The questionnaire was also distributed in secondary school 44, where it was learned that not a single atheistic lecture had been given in the 10th grade, half of the students had not seen an atheistic film, and the parents of 29 students believed in religion. Similar results were obtained at another secondary school. Such research has made it possible for the raykom to accurately assess the situation and take steps to correct it.

## SURVIVAL OF RELIGIOUS VESTIGES AMONG UZBEKS DISCUSSED

[Editorial Report] Tashkent SOVET OZBEKISTONI in Uzbek on 11 December 1986 carries on page 3 a 1,800-word article by Professor Doctor of Philosophy I. Jabborov entitled "A Scientific Basis for Atheistic Education" in which he discusses the survival of religious customs and beliefs and ways to fight it. Jabborov states that ideological adversaries have allocated a special place to Islam in their anti-communist arsenal and use it as a weapon to carry out their evil subversive plans. However, due to the victory of socialism most of the republic's population is free from the influence of religion. In his opinion there are several reasons for the continued survival of religion among a portion of the population. One reason is that religious customs arise from traditions some of which are good and are connected with universal feelings like justice and truth. Another reason is that indifference, neglect, bureaucratism, abuse of position,



bribe-taking, and other errors in the work of some leaders divert honest citizens from the path of justice and increase religiosity among them.

Jabborov points out that in some oblasts religion is openly propagated in complete defiance of Soviet law. Koranic passages are recorded on cassettes and sold along with various religious articles in Samarkand and Namangan Oblasts. Pilgrimages continue to holy sites in Kushrabat, Kattakurgan, and Ishtikhon Rayons. In the first half of this year more than half the religious weddings held in Syrdarya Oblast were by komsomol youth. Indifference to the dangers of religious superstitions leads to an increase of Islam and to the ability of the religious to operate in the open.

Jabborov argues that atheistic work must be integrated with other forms of ideological work, including labor, ethical, internationalist, and esthetic education. Socialist labor brings into existence lofty ideas like mutual aid, humanism, fraternity, and collectivism that are opposed to religious feelings. Communist ethics are based on the principles of truth and social justice. Jabborov notes that Muslim clerics propagate the idea that communist and Islamic ethics are similar: "Hence, it is extremely important to show that communist ethics are in conflict with religious ethics and that the two are completely opposed to each other." The principles of internationalism destroy the ties between nationalism and religion that survive from the past and weaken the influence of religion. Jabborov concludes that scientific atheistic education opens the way for rapprochement and the flourishing of socialist nationalities and eliminates the religious strifes that harm relations and friendship between peoples.

#### SOCIAL ILLS SAID TO INCREASE UZBEK RELIGIOUS BELIEFS

[Editorial Report] Tashkent OZBEKISTON ADABIYOTI VA SAN"ATI in Uzbek on 12 December 1986 carries on page 7 a 1,800-word article by Professor Doctor of Philosophy I. Jabborov entitled "Spiritual Culture and Customs" in which he argues that backwardness in solving important social problems and inattention to satisfying the spiritual needs of people impede the fight against religion and increase religiosity among people. He points out that personal misfortune, the misery of someone close, alienation from ideals, sickness, the fear of death, loneliness, and other social and psychological factors can lead some people to religion. Recognizing this, religious leaders appeal to emotional and spiritual feelings and make much of the ideas of social justice and truth. He asserts that the path along which religious people seek truth and justice is an erroneous one because it depends on worship of supernatural forces. Nonetheless, religious thinking is extremely tenacious precisely because it is integrally bound up with customs that embrace universal feelings like truth and justice.

Jabborov states that errors like apathy, neglect, bureaucratism, abuse of position, bribe-taking, and self-interest can also lead people to religion. When they are unable to find justice in the socialist system



some of them appeal to supernatural forces. The correction of such errors and the satisfaction of peoples' spiritual needs has a positive effect on social progress. Jabborov warns, however, that the survival of religion can be due to yet another factor, namely, the feeling of "satiety" which comes from having too much prosperity. Thus, the elevation of prosperity afforded by the socialist system does not in itself assure the formation of a communist consciousness.

#### UZBEK RAYKOM TAKES ACTION AGAINST UNOFFICIAL ISLAMIC ACTIVITIES

[Editorial Report] Tashkent SOVET OZBEKISTONI in Uzbek on 19 December 1986 carries on page 2 a 200-word item under the "Following Up on SOVET OZBEKISTONI Materials" rubric which reports that the Kagan Raykom of Bukhara Oblast discussed and confirmed the facts reported in an article entitled "Irresponsibility" that appeared in the 28 September 1986 issue of the newspaper. The raykom buro confirmed that local officials had been slack in atheistic propaganda and in disseminating the newest customs. It reprimanded Q. Salomov, chief of the rayon financial department, for failing to halt and levy fines against fake mullahs and other frauds who were conducting illegal religious ceremonies. It charged the raykom's agitprop department with the task of taking steps to improve atheistic education and of forming people's universities of scientific atheism and schools for atheistic lecturers. It also assigned the rayispolkom and village soviets the obligation of taking steps to supervise the strict observance of laws regarding religion and of halting the illegal activities of fake mullahs, ishans, and tabibs.

CSO: 1830/485

## KARPOV, YOUNG WRITERS DISCUSS RESTRUCTURING, STALINISM

OW160603 [Editorial Report] Moscow Television Service in Russian at 0730 GMT on 9 April 1987 carries the scheduled 60-minute program entitled "Young Authors Visit Writer Vladimir Karpov." The program begins with shots of well-known Soviet author Vladimir Vasilyevich Karpov at the head of a long table covered with snacks and serving tea to a large group of people. As people settle down around the table Karpov says: "I have invited you for a coup of tea. I even sent each one of you this invitation: Dear Aleksandr, this is Trapeznikov. I would like to invite you for a coup of tea to discuss our young literature. I would like to have a talk with you in just this kind of setting, over a cup of tea, with no reports, no announcements. Let us now reject those things. Our talk must be absolutely frank, absolutely frank."

Karpov notes that "the great changes occurring today in our country demand great efforts from everyone, in the spheres of production, the economy, science, education, and particularly literature." Karpov says that the youth should be drawn into the task and things should not be set aside insofar as "everything has reached such a stage of incandescence, what with restructuring and acceleration. This does not mean that writers will now move their pens more rapidly over paper or run around their tables at a trot."

Karpov says that he has given acceleration and restructuring much thought insofar as this is part of his responsibility, and says that the young must "take their place alongside us and join the work, the great cause that the people, the party, and history expect of us. I do not know how this can be done; quite honestly I do not know, and I would like you to help us figure this out."

Video shows a microphone being passed back to a man who identifies himself as Nikolay Dobryukha, a poet. Dobryukha suggests that the discussion start with the question of "Why we have gathered here?" He says that obviously the literature of the young is marking time and needs to get moving. He asks "Why are we marking time? Why are we not writing things that interest people?" He notes that in the past couple of years he has reviewed published anthologies of 167 young poets and found them to be almost entirely identical. He has come to the conclusion that "Those who publish the books, the publishers, are forced to select not those poems which reflect the essence of the given poet, but those that will not result in trouble for the publisher. This was noted clearly." He says that when the essence of the writer is

shown it becomes a revelation and gives rise to discussion. "So," he adds "we have a young literature, but it has not been assisted in establishing itself; on the contrary, everything that was fresh and new, like everywhere else--in production, in science, and in other spheres of our lives--has been hindered by those people who wished to live in tranquility."

Dobryukha relates how difficult it was to have his own poems published, and says that after they were published following the intervention of Mikhail Alekseyev, "PRAVDA promptly put me in the same corner with Yevtushenko. Of course some people here do not recognize Yevtushenko and do not consider him to be a poet, but I am talking about something else. In principle the people are attracted by his words and his books are discussed.

"What I am trying to say is that publishers should be less afraid, they should stop being afraid. Besides, we are not engaged in anything immoral or anti-Soviet. We are airing new views on how to make our country better, so that there is no need for us to look to the West for new things but to have our own things that are new so that the West turns to us." He notes that there are poets the West takes note of and adds that "our ideology goes to the West" through them.

Dobryukha notes that in principle "all of us are turning our backs on the problems of restructuring and acceleration" and are writing about neutral topics. Video cuts to show another participant who identifies himself as Kazakevich. He interrupts Dobryukha and asks him why he is talking in the plural. Another poet identifying himself as Mikhail Govryushin then takes Dobryukha to task, accusing him of demagogy. He asks Dobryukha to read a poem devoted to peace which he submitted at A Moscow Komsomol competition. Dobryukha refuses, to which Govryushin says: "You were not ashamed to read the poem in the presence of Mikhail Alekseyev, whom you highly regard. Please read it now." After further remonstrances from Dobryukha, Govryushin says heatedly: "You are now continuing the same line that you began in your poem and are turning everything into demagogy, from the first to the last word. Why? because you are absolutely incorrect in claiming that there is no young literature, that it is marking time. I know dozens of people, some of them are here, for whom the problems of restructuring, precisely the facts of restructuring, were concerns 10 years before this restructuring, a lot earlier and a lot more seriously than you can imagine."

Karpov interrupts and notes that sympathies and antipathies are at work. He adds that it is impermissible to force someone to write about what you need. He has a right to write what he has written.

The microphone is then passed to a man in the uniform of a Soviet Army lieutenant colonel. He identifies himself as Aleksandr Kuznyakov, a poet. Kuznyakov says that he is concerned over the fact that young literature and criticism, and literature discussing the problems of today's youth is talking more about various organizational and structural issues and less about ideological and artistic tasks and problems.

Kuznyakov says: "In particular, many groups have formed that, in my opinion, simply do not set themselves any tasks of this sort. I say this in connection with the mention of Yevtushenko. I think it is very appropriate to cite a brief extract from his item in OGONEK. Frankly, it has aroused my indignation, and insofar as he has been mentioned as a criterion of quality and regarded as an eminent figure amongst us, I would like to say a few words about what this represents."

Kuznyakov then reads from OGONEK: "We were formed spiritually and professionally during a social cataclysm when breaches appeared in the walls of this fortress. We penetrated this fortress and continued to wage our war, at times in divided fashion, hearing the shots of our comrades in distant streets. The breaches were skillfully sealed, cutting us off from (?poetic) youth. A moat was dug around the fortress and filled with water to make it impossible for the next generation to come to our aid. We were dead tired; our cartridges and strength were spent; and foreign helicopters began circling over our heads, hospitably lowering ladders that swung enticingly over our heads. Only the weak scrambled up the ladders, exchanging the struggle for freedom in their fatherland for Radio Liberty. But we did not give up."

Kuznyakov then says: "I was simply shocked that Yevtushenko--he apparently does not understand--would frankly write that the difference between those who left in the past and are working at Radio Liberty and Yevtushenko himself lies only in the fact that those who left were simply weak while Yevtushenko was strong. It turns out that the nature of their activities and their aims are the same. They are defending freedom at Radio Liberty while Yevtushenko, Voznesenskiy, Rozhdestvenskiy are doing so in our country."

Over general laughter Karpov interrupts, saying: "I do not think Yevtushenko meant this in his article." Kuznyakov says that it is frightening that Yevtushenko does not understand this. He adds that for a poet words are his work, and "if we judge Yevtushenko, Voznesenskiy, and Rozhdestvenskiy by their words over the past years, then quite obviously the processes manifested in the construction of Kalininskiy boulevard or plans to turn rivers are essentially the same as those processes manifested in this vaudeville poetry. This is quite obvious. In other words, abuse of nature and abuse of words committed in this way are related processes."

The next speaker identifies himself as Vladimir Butrameyev. He laments the previous exchange and says that what has been said suggests that young writers produce some good works as well as "trash." Butrameyev says that if "publishing houses set aside our goods works and publish our trash, then the publishing houses make us look bad." After some general laughter Butrameyev says that if anything is to be written it should not be trash that might be selected for publication resulting in a bad reputation for writers. After more laughter Butrameyev warns against turning literature into an incubator turning out "servicemen of the literary guards." He adds: "The arts are not some kind of organization in which instructions are passed down from above and these instructions are subsequently fulfilled."

Karpov asks Butrameyev to explain his term "incubator," and Butrameyev says: "I consider literature and the publishing business--because they are related--to be authoritarian. People should be selected for these jobs who can be relied on to understand you, not because you write correctly but because they feel something and publish your work even if you write things that fall outside accepted principles."

Karpov expresses dissatisfaction with this explanation. The microphone is then passed to a man identifying himself as Sergey Alekseyev, a prose writer. He lauds the "incubator" approach and goes on to talk about the Literature Institute which, in his opinion, gathers promising young people from all over the country and then sets about spoiling them. "Everything invested in man--I do not know by whom, maybe God--is exterminated. This, I think, is the incubator. If this incubator produces say 200 hens and 1 cock, if this cock rises and crows, then it would be marvellous."

Karpov defends the institute and names such writers as Bondarev, Soloukhin, Vladimir Tendryakov, Boris Bednyy, Maya Ganina, Nataliya Ilina, and Grigoriy Baklanov who studied at the institute with him. He says that they are all different.

The next speaker identifies herself as Marina Kabiridze, a student at the Literature Institute, who notes that it is not the aim of the institute to turn out someone like Rubtsov every year. "Its mission, in my opinion," she says "lies in giving literary workers, poets, and writers a good, humanitarian education." She asks that the institute be allowed to have its own publication for some of the institute's interesting writers. Then, she adds, we could discuss whether the institute produces any literature.

Taking the microphone, a man identifying himself as Yuriy Geyka, an editor in the literature and arts department of KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA, notes that, in his official travels, he has met hundreds of unknown, but gifted, writers. He singles out Slava Rybakov, author of "THE DEAD PERSON" [MERTVYY CHELOVEK], from Leningrad, who has published novels in NEVA and DAUGAVA magazines. Recalling that he met a talented prose writer, Gennadiy Golovin, right in his own apartment block, Geyka notes that he met him "2 years ago, during the timeless period [period bezvremeni], so to speak." He adds that his works were being read by everyone in the block, a PRAVDA publishing house apartment, "and they felt their superiority, because they were being published, and I was being published, but Gennadiy will not be published because his works were on the brink, or even over the brink, of being afoul, as they say, or works that would not be accepted in those days."

Reiterating that there are many talented young writers who remain unknown, Geyka points out that he has counted only 3 people at the meeting under the age of 30, and adds that there are probably many who are over 40. He calls for a change in the system of finding young writers, because the publishing system is not geared to do this, and suggests that this issue be discussed.

In response, Karpov says: "As I said earlier, I invited people to this meeting who, as early as tomorrow, can take their place next to us. Yes, there

are many boys who need attention, literary associations, and various other forms of organization. They read their poems in restaurants, they get together in cafes and elsewhere. But, I precisely invited you, those of you who have already tested your pens and have stepped onto the porch. And I am talking to a group I would already like to see tomorrow taking its place next to us. There is no time and, in the given situation, there is a desire to involve new forces. Now you are these forces, you already have one or two books."

Karpov then notes that, in adopting publishing plans, the Writers' Union Secretariat has made numerous enemies. He notes that the publishing houses have been instructed to remove nearly half the manuscripts submitted by known writers, and to include works by young writers. Interrupting, Yuriy Geyka says that the system should exclude voluntarist biases in this matter. Karpov maintains that it was not voluntarism but that, simply, 2 years ago this was not possible. "Now it is possible, now it is necessary, and now we are searching, and that is why we have gathered here," says Karpov. He adds: "There is only one demand: Write well, write well, fellows, for a good manuscript will always get through, particularly now. No conservative editor will pick on you or stop you. Just write well."

Karpov then gives the floor to Moscow prose writer and critic Sergey (Ugozhin) who says that a completely abnormal situation currently exists with literature of the young. He notes that although he is now bald and has been writing since the age of 25, he is still considered a young writer. He says that neither the Writers' Union nor the Komsomol Central Committee have done anything for him as a writer, because "I think that the leadership of our Writers' Union and of the publishing business is afraid of an expression of extreme points of view by so-called young writers." He says that extreme views always distinguish the world outlook of vivid and creative personalities, including writers.

(Ugozhin) says that, in his opinion, Soviet cultural thought is "experiencing a very complex process, a division of consciousness." He says that, as individuals, "we are being formed as complete individuals in terms of a world outlook. However, in expressing our world outlook in words, we constantly look for conventional forms, and, on the facet of this internal crisis, in literature we get either individuals who are time-servers or malcontents. This malcontentedness and argumentativeness of various kinds, and the so-called state protective views and trends, if you will, are the most dangerous and destructive things for our literature." (Ugozhin) says that Soviet history has experienced two very difficult periods, one during which many books devoid of meaning about the great Russian people were published, and the other during the 1960's, when "we permitted the creeping hydra of malcontent to go to the literary front."

Lamenting the difficulties faced by many promising young writers and poets, (Ugozhin) notes that many cannot even get authorization to live in major cities of their choice. He then recites a poem by Igor Tulenev from Perm, "which struck me with its terrible inner bitterness. I thought: God, heaven forbid that my children live to read such poems." The poem reads: "In my



parents home, I cannot live even a day; relatives of strangers live in my parents home; strange portraits hang on the wall, they mumble strange testaments in their sleep, strangers with strangers repeat strange things; and I am afraid to live with them in my own home."

(Ugozhin) says this situation is characteristic of today. He concludes his remarks with criticism of OGONEK, pointing to the stark contrast between the satisfied-looking poets on its cover, and the dirty-faced miners on the first pages. (Ugozhin) holds up the photos and, pointing to the miners, says: "When we are restructuring, do we need to show all this in one magazine? I would prefer, in the worst traditions of the 1950's, to see this on the cover of the magazine; because we are faced with difficult and specific times, and the tasks we must achieve are by no means literary in nature."

Taking the microphone, the next speaker, prose writer Anatoliy Burlov, says he gets the impression that everyone is beating around the bush. Citing Tolstoy, he says, "You cannot be a little bit pregnant, and so you cannot utter half-truths. Yet we utter half-truths all the time. We are afraid. We were always faced by three questions constantly bothering us: What happened? Who is responsible? What can we do? These are sacramental issues. We are starting to approach these issues with half-truths. Again, we are beating around the bush like rabbits." He adds: "We are now thinking: What happened? Until we know our own history and who it was who destroyed these temples, why they destroyed them...after all, destruction occurred from all sides and in all directions, yet we say it was carelessness, connivance, and evade the issue. Somebody must be orchestrating something. Why are we evading this? Why are we afraid of it?" As Rasputin said: To heal a disease we must first identify it."

Burlov notes there are always positive and negative sides to life, and criticizes an autobiography, entirely fabricated, which concealed the fact that, in 1949, spirits were the main exchange commodity for furs and gold procured from minority nationalities. He calls for portrayal of both good and bad, and says writers should write about negative aspects of life as they recognize them, and not wait until they are history, even to the detriment of their own well-being.

Karpov then philosophizes on the issue of truth, saying that it fully reflects life. He says: "Take collectivization, for example. Quite a mess was made [nalomat drova] during collectivization. The man with a good-quality roof, a tile roof, was called a kulak. Many people suffered, many people. But was that the only thing about collectivization? Now, if there were no collectivized farming of this sort, would we or would we not have persevered during the Patriotic War? That is another question. We could have died of hunger." Karpov also recounts the success of Soviet industry in 1942 when, after being forced over the Urals, it managed to produce more tanks than German industry, noting that quite a mess in industry preceded these successes. He appeals to the writers not to stress the black or the white, but to stick to the truth.



Karpov says that the hero who has accepted this has already appeared, "but there are also doubting people, many people who do not want restructuring. They are satisfied with their former lives, their positions, their material well-being, and so forth. Their opposition is not direct, but they want to preserve these things at all costs. I am not only talking about swindlers in the trade sphere. There are also certain people occupying even firm leadership positions. Conservatism exists." Karpov again warns against depicting only the bad, and recalls Gorbachev's words that "we should talk about the misfortunes we have experienced, but the whole matter lies in the civic position. Tolya and Sergey were right, everything depends on the civic position, on what you write when you discuss the dispossession of the kulaks, or the unjustified shooting of somebody. What are you writing as a citizen? Are you trying to hurt and to condemn, to twist a knife in a raw wound once again, or are you writing this with regret and pain, and a desire to set wrongs right?" Karpov appeals to the writers to write about current problems hindering restructuring, and not dwell in the past which has already been exposed.

The microphone is then taken by Vyacheslav Kazakevich, who says: "Most of us gathered here are representatives of my generation, a generation which appeared on earth in the 1950's. In my opinion, although we had no war or any great and real hunger, a Russian hunger as has occurred from time to time, we experienced a very difficult time. This lot fell on us and all the 30, 35, and 40 year-olds who live in the country and who are today, as a matter of fact, playing a very important role in its life, and tomorrow may play an even more important role.

"We were formed by three decades. The 1950's...they were our nursemaids, if I may put it that way. The 1960's were our teachers. The 1970's saw us going to work, they saw us becoming chiefs and commanders, for those in the Army. The nursemaids told us about the mistakes of the Stalinist period. The school teachers of the 1960's told us at first that the mistakes had been overcome, soon a brilliant future would arrive, and dates were mentioned; but very soon, these same teachers also told us that all this was also a mistake and all of this was voluntarism, so forget it, kids! We learn from mistakes. During the 1970's, the chiefs and commanders told us an enormous number of wonderful words but, more often than not, these words did not match deeds, because they were said from lofty rostrums; but we all know very well what was going on in real life.

"How has this ended today for very many in our generation? I think we all know from contacts with our contemporaries; we feel this. The heads of many of them have remained vacant. Vacant in terms of a real major idea, which always, in coordination with a natural Russian heart, yields amazing results. Often, our generation is accused of being pragmatic. They say: you are pragmatic. Why pragmatic? Not because some kind of American period, a pragmatic period, has arrived, but because the head has been bereft of any great ideas, and has engaged in trivialities--work, careers, and so forth."

Kazakevich goes on to stress the need for literary criticism, "criticism related to the literature of my generation", and says that, in his opinion,

such criticism does not exist. "The rush for gigantomania in the economy, pulling wool over the eyes with universal projects, was repeated in identical fashion in literature." He says that this led to expectations of another Pushkin, which lulled critics to sleep. He accuses critics of the 1950's of ignoring the writers of his generation, of conducting a monologue, in which the younger writer could listen in various forums, but never speak about anything more than himself. He appeals for a dialogue in which the younger writer gets a chance to talk about the older writers in the same way that older writers are used to discussing the young.

In response, Karpov notes that the present dialogue is being held precisely in this spirit. He then passes the microphone to Andrey Malgin, who criticizes the fact that only a specific group of young writers is represented at the gathering, which Karpov denies. A writer from Novgorod, Nikolay Shipilov, then speaks briefly about the need for writers to have courage, as many of those who lived in the difficult past had. Karpov concludes the program by lauding the honesty of the discussion, even about bitter things of the past, and says that "we are lucky to be living at such a time, a time of such transformation. It would be even worse if you still lived at a time when this, that, or the other was forbidden or not recommended, or was a prohibited topic. Now, everything is open and we must demonstrate ideas with deeds."

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CSO: 1800/588

## WRITER VIEWS WAYS TO WIN BACK YOUNG DROPOUTS

PM161113 Moscow SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA in Russian 4 Apr 87 p 4

[Edmund Iodkovskiy interview with Vasiliy Roslyakov: "'We Must Not Live More Than We Used To'"--date and place unspecified, first two paragraphs are editorial introduction]

[Text] The writer Vasiliy Roslyakov is the "godson" of Aleksandr Tvardovskiy, who published his first story--"One of Us"--in NOVYY MIR 25 years ago. We remember Roslyakov's novels "From Spring to Spring," "Vitenka," the "The Last War" trilogy, and the "Happy-sad" and "Moscow Tales" collections.

Our talk started with a question about what social problem in our time concerned the writer most.

[Roslyakov] A sober and merciless analysis of social problems was provided from the rostrum of the 27th party congress, which called on us to carry out a fundamental and revolutionary restructuring of all social and state mechanisms and to profoundly restructure our consciousness. The dislocated joints of history must be put back in their proper place. If we are going to talk about "sore points," one such, in my view, consists of problems to do with young people: These problems have been becoming more and more acute and alarming over the decades, and this attests not only to a weakness or lack of ideals, but to the fact that we ourselves have undermined their life-giving force by permitting many mistakes.

For many years and for different reasons that are not as simple and clear as some of us think, there was no dialectic removal or resolution of the accumulated contradictions. Creating stagnant phenomena in certain places, these contradictions were swept under the carpet, so to speak, but were not resolved. Naturally, not everyone considered the causes of these ills or sought ways of correcting vices or ensuring an improvement, particularly among young people. Drunkenness, drug abuse, licentiousness, and foreign currency speculation--all these vices have even infiltrated the secondary schools. Particularly the so-called "special schools" for children of the "elite," with their in-depth study of foreign languages (there are around 90 such schools in Moscow) where there is sometimes not a single child from a worker family...

It is no secret that mainly affluent families in the big cities have produced degrading and antisocial offspring who worship "highs"--"highs" in any way and using any means! Those who die of drug addiction are only the very tip of the disease, its milestones. The disease itself covers a far wider section of the young generation, and this disease can only be defined as social cynicism and a desire to undermine social thinking. But in order not to be misunderstood, I must stress that it is not a question of young people as a whole. Only of a sick group among them. But so long as we close our eyes to this and pretend that everything's OK, the disease will spread. All our aspirations to improve educational work among teenagers and young people are on the lines of "from good to better," when they need to be on the lines of "from bad to good"; we must no longer just educate, but actually save young men and women who have gotten into trouble!

To put it in its broad sense, all the measures to restructure schoolteaching that were long overdue and were met with great enthusiasm by the schools are quite inadequate.

I remember once walking down Sretenka Street. I turned down a boulevard past the Krupskaya Monument. Beside the low marble base of the monument I saw "them." A girl and four others, dirty, with long hair, and stubble-covered faces. Needless to say, they were wearing jeans--patched, frayed, and almost white they were so threadbare--and shabby old sweaters. They were clones of my son's friends--the ones he "hitchhiked" to the Crimea with--they had the same tatty rough-canvas backpacks covered with stickers. A blue-eyed girl was sitting on the monument steps and domestically mending someone's jeans. She was sewing on a patch, was herself dressed in a denim skirt that hadn't been washed for ages, and was wearing two or three sweaters on top of each other.

But among this company was also someone I'd like to call an "old timer." Well, he was no kid at any rate--his unwashed head was already streaked with gray. Like his young friends he stared ahead aloofly, seeing nothing. Cars rushed past, Muscovites strolled down the boulevard, mothers and retired grandfathers pushed their baby carriages, and gangs of schoolchildren ran past waving their satchels. But this lot just sat in the shadow of Nadezhka Konstantinovna Krupskaya and didn't want to see or know any of those passing by on foot or in the cars--they wanted to know nobody and nothing. Naturally, they were silent, even their graying leader wasn't talking to them--they just sat silently on the cold marble. They had some sort of pathetic rattle around their necks, some kind of talisman, just pebbles or leather strips...

[Iodkovskiy] In short, had you met once again with the heroes of your essay "Truba Calling," who were proud that they had rejected utilitarianism and devoted themselves to seeking "true spirituality," hiding behind pseudoscientific terms, mysteriously inexplicable magic, occultism, theosophy, ESP, and "modern" neo-Buddhism?

[Roslyakov] Absolutely right. Spirituality, my foot... But at the same time I knew that these were our children, children needed by nobody, who had been abandoned, or rather, who had left their families, their mothers and fathers, brothers and sisters, and grandmothers and grandfathers. OK, there's only a few of them, a handful of them, but these lost souls are our children too! They may be bad and not the way we would like, but they are our children, and we cannot think about them without fighting for them.

[Iodkovskiy] That is, the more we pretend that nothing is happening and that in fact there is no problem--only a handful of "dropouts" who aren't worth bothering public opinion about--the more deeply and widely the illness will spread...

[Roslyakov] But such people do exist--that means there is a problem. I realize that this problem does not come home to everyone and does not concern everyone. But there are mothers--weeping mothers--and despairing fathers who do not know how they can help and what they can do to solve their problem. The news carried by our press from the four corners of our vast state every day makes you automatically think of the start of a new revolutionary era--but these people just sit in their flats (apartments), mend jeans, leave signs and circles with the [Roman] letter V on fences, call each other up to "have a rap session," and then go back to their flats to get high.

[Iodkovskiy] So what do you see as the writer's duty with regard to these "lost children"?

[Roslyakov] Truth is the same for everyone--it is impossible to develop scientific and artistic knowledge through seeking god and mysticism. Writers who adapt the great culture of the East to the needs of an undemanding conscience, turning its "revelations" into simple, accessible, and cozy rules, do a disservice to young people.

At any rate, it would be naive to rely merely on literature as a panacea for all ills. Similarly, no single social lever and no single social force taken in isolation can solve a single problem in a society where social relations are instructured. All our hopes today are pinned on restructuring, which will restore society's health.

There have been arguments for many years in which schools blame parents for teenage citizens' poor education... While the parents, in their turn, blame the schools; or at best some other person, who is always "right," divides the blame equally between both parties. The stupid worthlessness of these recriminations is obvious as soon as you remember, for instance, that the revolutionary democrats of the 1860's studied almost to a man in parish schools or seminaries and their parents were priests or deacons... I recall that the Decembrists who opposed tsarist autocracy trained at lycees or the Corps of Pages, while their parents were landowners or tsarist generals.

Of course, some measure of responsibility lies with both the school and the parents; however, "noble impulses of the soul" are fostered not so much by teachers' admonitions or parental kindness as by social ideals and the very makeup of local reality.

[Iodkovskiy] Obviously, young people gain their bearings irrespective of the moral climate of the time.

[Roslyakov] Of course. The climate is now changing for the better, social apathy and passivity are becoming things of the past; suddenly (and surely every revolution comes about suddenly one way or another) suddenly it has become clear to everyone--from leading comrades to the very grass roots of the people--that we were not living correctly, were doing some things wrong, not on the basis of truth and conscience but in some other way, and that we couldn't go on living like that.

Young people must also change for the better. This means that youth problems must also be solved in a new way on the basis of total and comprehensive openness. Openness is not a one-shot measure, it is the main condition for the existence of a healthy society. This means that today, when empty faith is at an end, we must strengthen faith with knowledge and make schoolchildren not only technologically literate but socially literate.

Scientists are overjoyed to introduce schoolchildren to computers, but I feel a sense of envy and resentment... Yes, I see the energy expended on teaching schoolchildren in the spirit of modern technology and making them technologically literate, while social literacy is rather left on the sidelines--at any rate I have not yet noted the same concern and enthusiasm in acquiring this most important skill.

There is some point in introducing to secondary schools a new subject based on the history of philosophy. Needless to say, within sensible limits that are easily accessible for schoolchildren. Do secondary students get taught higher mathematics? If schoolchildren assimilate, as far as they are able, the history of human thought from Aristotle and Plato to Marx, "their minds will understand Marxism" and will not rummage among the rejects of social thought on the scrap heap of history. We also need a vividly written Marxism textbook based on the history of philosophy.

It seems to me that there is a terrible danger here--formalism. We could turn the foundations of social literacy into some kind of formal, doctrinaire "holy writ." Every teacher needs a creative approach to the job.

Sometimes I think that we citizens of the Land of the Soviets rose up over the world with our messianic mission of extricating mankind from the historical dead end in which it was stuck and raising people up to their highest form. Only one path leads in this direction: the path of spiritual renewal and purification--everything subsumed by the meaningful word "restructuring." This demands work by everyone and obliges all Soviet people to clearly realize their position in today's so rapidly changing world. At a time of publicity and openness recurrences of discredited illiterate sociohistoric thinking are particularly dangerous.

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CSO: 1800/588

## IZVESTIYA WELCOMES 'CONTEMPORARY' MOSCOW ART SHOW

PM031417 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 27 Mar 87 Morning Edition p 3

[L. Pazhitnov article: "Pictures Chosen for New Form Art Exhibition at the 'Kashirskaya' Without Bureaucratic Impediment"]

[Text] It is a well-known fact that the voice of the artist gathers strength in the constant, unremitting dialogue between the artist and his audience and in the open competition, rivalry, and creative interchange between different schools and trends on display in exhibition halls. With the present radical changes in the cultural situation, the exhibition of work by 67 artists from the Moscow branch of the RSFSR Artists Union who are drawn to new forms of contemporary expression is a highly significant event.

The majority of the artists represented at the "Kashirskaya" are not young--some of them have exhibited their work before, although these have mainly been private exhibitions and fragmentary in nature, while others are exhibiting their work for the first time. And for the first time these works are being shown to the public without any bureaucratic restrictions and have been personally selected by the artists themselves. Many of them owe their appeal to freshness and plasticity of artistic expression, restless probing, and a desire to prompt a reaction from the viewer.

Here, as at the young artists' exhibition on the Kuznetskiy, there is a definite cultural program: rock groups, a poetry evening, and interesting discussions. The only thing to be regretted is that the program has once again been "curtailed." The exhibition has been accompanied by meetings between artists and audience. The lively contact has broken down the barriers that typify traditional exhibitions of "indisputable achievements," thereby demonstrating that it is organically in keeping with the spirit of change.

The opinion was put forward at a recent "roundtable" session in the critics section of the Moscow branch of the RSFSR Artists Union in connection with this exhibition that, in certain respects, artistic practice is ahead of the ideas expressed by art historians and critics....

The faux-naïf paintings by L. Purygin ("Triptych" and "The Last Judgment") stand out among the other works, while I. Chuykov combines temporal contrasts with a striking, graceful style in his "Fragments of Picture Postcards and



Self-portrait." A series of paintings by A. Dundukov are full of expression. However, leafing through the catalog, it is clear that these particular works provoked annoyance and irritation in some viewers. The possibility cannot be ruled out that a similar range of views will be expressed by art critics.

The underlying sincerity and reserve of a new rural series by E. Shteynberg, "The Seasons of the Year," is appealing. Some people will like the pictures by Yu. Zlotnikov ("Movement" and "Rhythm, Space, People"), "Collages" by V. Koleychuk, "Light and Dark" by V. Yankilevskiy, and E. Gorokhovskiy's diptych "The Ganelin Trio." Others will be attracted by the methods used by A. Royter in "Fire" and N. Filatov in "Fighter." Some will say that, for all their force of expression, the works by M. Kantor ("Morning Rounds") and L. Tabenkin ("Duo") are inferior to the pictures they are showing at the young artists' exhibition. Some will be interested by the plasticity of A. Yulikov's "White Composition" and the heavy irony of E. Bulatov's "Picture With the Seal of Quality." There will also be people of the opinion that many of the works exhibited are simply rehashing themes already covered by world artistic experience. This kind of diversity of opinion is inevitable with only tenuous guidelines regarding criticism.

One may read angry comments in the review book regarding I. Kabakov's "Soccer Match": How has the artist had the temerity to depict just a small football on a large canvas instead of the actual football field, the stadium, the stands, and so forth, giving a lengthy verbal explanation as to why he decided to leave them invisible? But the famous Swiss playwright Friedrich Duerrenmatt, who visited the exhibition as one of the cultural figures involved in the Moscow forum, said that he had never seen a wittier depiction of a soccer match. The famous cinema director Milos Forman expressed the desire to buy G. Bruskin's "Fundamental Lexicon" and said that his dream was to see the entire exhibition at the New York Central Museum. Artistic impressions aside, he considered this kind of exhibition more convincing than any verbal declaration in conveying the changes and growing democracy in our country's culture to people in the West.

The point was made at the Moscow forum fervently, conclusively, and in a multitude of languages that the real barrier to the threat of mutual annihilation is mutual understanding, trust, and openness in relations between people and states, as well as spiritual growth to overcome the nuclear hysteria. The exhibition opens with a sculpture of Vladimir Vysotskiy--a creation by L. Berlin. This modern-day Orpheus with his guitar is a symbol of the magical force of art, which is capable of uniting people in their worship of beauty. There is profound meaning in this. The thousands of images in Vysotskiy's songs gave people spiritual strength in the difficult years.

Over the century, art has sharply pushed back the confines of traditional artistic language. It has destroyed the cult of external forms of the material world which had prevailed since the Renaissance and overcome the practice of regarding the subject from one angle only, by penetrating deep into its density and totality on canvas. Even 50 years ago, fine art theoreticians were writing about themes penetrating the art of the time which revealed the artist's irony over his own methods and ambitions--even going as far as

defiance and the desire to shock--and about the artist's rejection of the picture's closed world which made contact with the viewer difficult. Today the artist has a different perception of his role in life. He is boldly casting off the cloak of oracle and prophet and, like the wandering minstrel, is drawing the viewer into the round dance--as in the days of ancient Dionysian festivals, when everything once firmly established was shaken from its place, reinterpreted, and made the subject of mirth in order to ascertain how well, reliably, and logically the world was arranged. Relying on the artist's individual perception and markedly subjective attitude to reality inevitably leads to a diversity and multiplicity of meaning in the artistic language, which provides an original reflection of the diversity of the modern world.

Stagnation and spiritual lethargy inevitably give rise to skepticism and cynicism, which in turn corrode the thought and will of entire generations. This is shown with astounding truth in the documentary film by Yu. Podniyek "Is It Easy To Be Young?" There is also a break in the cultural tradition. The difficult process of restoration in art is now gathering momentum. The point of the exhibition of the "Kashirskaya" is that it is willing to accept these democratic changes and make them irreversible. Artists still have vivid memories of the wrought feelings surrounding the first exhibitions of this kind. Even quite recently, some masters employing contemporary forms of expression were labelled, while obliging well-wishers gave them an aura of martyrdom. Consequently, the exhibition at the "Kashirskaya" opens a new phase in their dialogue with the public--a dignified dialogue, free of bureaucratic obstacles and hysteria. We hope that this will become the norm.

Galleries like the Kashkirka are opening in other rayons of the capital. The quest and experience of artists is being taken out of the closed artistic milieu to be judged by public opinion, without impediment or ban, and on democratic principles. The new art is eagerly seeking a way into life--we will not forget that we were denied this access for many decades in real terms and not just in appearances--and thirsts for contact with the present quests in poetry, music, and the theater. There is no need to doubt that the new galleries will soon be established and develop into discussion clubs where people separated by their profession, official duties, and the bustle of their domestic concerns will be able to find spiritual kinship--in terms of their intellectual and spiritual needs and perception of reality--which will help all of them to overcome the feeling they sometimes have of being lost and alone in the world and will impart fearlessness and a refusal to compromise to people's joint actions.

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## UZBEK ARTISTS RAPPED FOR PETTY THEMES

[Editorial Report] Tashkent OZBEKISTON ADABIYOTI VA SAN"ATI in Uzbek on 5 December 1986 carries on page 1 a 1,000-word item from UzTAG entitled "We Must Be Soldiers in Life and Art" which reports on a plenum held by the board of the Uzbek SSR Union of Artists at which Chairman J.Yu. Umarbekov and others spoke about problems with representational art in the republic, and stressed the need for artists to understand the most important problems of today and take a communist position toward them. Artists do not have the right to ignore or stand aside from the struggle to strengthen the positive changes taking place in economic, social, and spiritual life. Every artist and member of the artists union must devote all his energy toward seeking and promoting new approaches toward these changes. The party's recently adopted decision "On measures to further develop representational art and increase its role in the education of workers in a communist spirit" must become the working program of republic artists and their union.

It was pointed out at the plenum that the artists union's work suffered from negative tendencies affecting republic life. Pomposity, showing off, and complacency brought into existence numerous works that were superficial and ideologically and artistically immature. Participants spoke openly about cases of stagnation in the union's work. Recent shows have contained few works that arouse lofty social and spiritual ideals in viewers. The themes of art works have become petty and characterized by uncertainty toward the world and petty bourgeois narrowmindedness. Among the few works that deal with workers or production, subjects get lost in the details of design or form. Participants criticized the passive position taken by most artists toward modern problems and stressed that the union must elevate these positions by restructuring elected organs, developing openness, and establishing a spirit of healthy and practical criticism. They called on artists to glorify heroes and modern accomplishments and abandon the pursuit of negative directions that impede forward progress.

F.B. Usmankhodzhayev, First Secretary of the Uzbek CP Central Committee, spoke at the plenum, and B.F. Satin, First Secretary of the Tashkent Gorkom, took part.

## WESTERN POP CULTURAL INFLUENCE ON UZBEK YOUTHS DECRIED

[Editorial Report] Tashkent OZBEKISTON ADABIYOTI VA SAN"ATI in Uzbek on 5 December 1986 carries on page 6 an 800-word article by Lola Qayumova entitled "The Qualities of Appreciation and Understanding" in which she laments that when a casual attitude is taken toward esthetic education or when esthetics are not correctly understood, some young people fall subject to negative tendencies. As a consequence they become fond of bourgeois art, wear foreign clothes or other articles, and listen to musical groups of the "Free World." However, in her opinion, such tastes do not make these youths modern or cultured. In fact, some of them cannot even write their own names correctly. She cites a recent article in the journal YOSH KUCH about various Western musical groups whose songs are steeped in an immoral or anti-Soviet spirit. For example, the German group Chingis Khan has a song entitled "Moscow" with the following verses: "Several times Moscow burned down, but it was always rebuilt. No one could defeat it, but don't worry, we can do it." This group's policy of hatred is evident in a number of its other songs.

Qayumova feels that this case is typical of what goes on in the bourgeois world and of how its children are brought up. She refers to the U.S. concert at Altamont given by the Rolling Stones at which several people were killed in a gang fight. Such concerts and songs are meaningless and unnecessary in her opinion. Their goal is to impoverish spiritual life, offend esthetic taste, and harm the development of art. However, bourgeois efforts to negatively influence the minds of Soviet youth are futile because Soviet youth are armed with the ideals of Lenin and communism. Thanks to the constant concern of the party and government they are brought up on Marxist-Leninist esthetics. She points out that for the last three years esthetics have been taught at secondary, trade, and technical schools in the republic, and many youths are beginning to understand and appreciate works of art correctly. However, she cautions that the potential of esthetics has not been fully realized nor has it reached enough young people. She concludes by urging the restructuring of the teaching of esthetics.

## UZBEK ARTISTS UNION CHIEF RAPS PORTRAITS THAT GLORIFY LEADERS

[Editorial Report] Tasheknt SOVET OZBEKISTONI in Uzbek on 17 January 1987 carries on page 3 a 1,300-word article by J. Umarbekov, Chairman of the Uzbek Artists Union, entitled "Mirror of Creative Activism" in which he comments on various problems in current Uzbek art. He notes that union sections need to restructure their work, more attention must be paid to the creative needs of artists working in various cities and oblasts, and union secretaries and board members need to participate in organizing shows in oblast cities. Generally, the quality of shows and individual works is very poor. Umarbekov further states: "When we speak about quality we must keep in mind not only the professional and artistic level of art shows but also their ideological orientation. We cannot close our eyes to the appearance of portraits that idealize and propagandize various contemporary leaders, particularly since some of these men recently shamed themselves before the people."

## IMPORTANCE OF RUSSIAN STRESSED FOR UZBEKS

[Editorial Report] Tashkent SOVET OZBEKISTONI in Uzbek on 12 December 1986 carries on page 3 a 1,200-word article by Professor Doctor of Philosophy Q. Khonazarov entitled "The Acceleration Strategy and the Russian Language" in which he discusses the importance of Russian for Uzbeks and other nationalities, particularly for the implementation of the restructuring program. He states that Russian has been chosen voluntarily as the language of discourse between nationalities because it is the native tongue of nearly 60 percent of the population and the language of the people who prepared and carried out the Revolution. One of the great achievements of the CPSU's nationality policy is that nearly the entire working population of the country knows Russian. Carrying out such a policy in the capitalist world would be impossible because the bourgeois policy in multinational states is aimed at discriminating against nationalities and placing great barriers in the path of the development of their languages.

Khonazarov states that it is difficult to solve the tasks of acceleration and restructuring without Russian because it is the language of Soviet science and technology. At the present time 25 percent of all literature published in the world is printed in Russian, which occupies second place in this respect. Nearly 60 percent of all the scientific and technical ideas proposed in the world appear for the first time in Russian. Although the USSR has only 5.6 percent of the world's population it has 25 percent of its scientific workers. Thus, it is impossible to be productively involved in science and technology without a knowledge of Russian.

Khonazarov points out that Russian language teaching and learning remain below demand. There are great shortcomings in Russian language teaching in schools, primarily because the level of teachers, especially in rural areas, is low. Another problem is that the study of Russian is regarded as completed following graduation from secondary and higher schools. Courses and schools for independent study have not been opened nor the necessary textbooks prepared. The task of compiling Russian-Uzbek and Uzbek-Russian dictionaries is carried out sluggishly and in some cases at a low level of quality. Finally, he notes, the level of instruction in Russian language departments of higher educational establishments does not meet scientific or methodological demands.

## UZBEK PUBLISHING HOUSE RELEASES RUSSIAN LANGUAGE STUDY AIDS

[Editorial Report] Tashkent SOVET OZBEKISTONI in Uzbek on 12 December 1986 carries on page 3 a 200-word item entitled "New Books and Textbooks" which reports that Uqituvchi Publishing House has released a series of Russian language and literature textbooks for the 1986-1987 school year intended for grades 1-10 of public education schools where instruction is in Uzbek. Among these works is a new study-methodology series in Russian for the first grade. It includes "The Russian Language in Pictures" and the methodological handbook "Russian in the First Grade"

by Andriyanova, Zheleznyakova, and Tolipova. For lower grade students a second edition of the "Russian-Uzbek Dictionary" and a "Picture Dictionary of Russian" were prepared. Several books containing Russian stories were published for independent study of Russian.

#### POOR QUALITY OF RUSSIAN LANGUAGE TEACHERS IN UZBEKISTAN DISCUSSED

[Editorial Report] Tashkent OZBEKISTON ADABIYOTI VA SAN"ATI in Uzbek on 9 January 1987 carries on page 5 a 1,700-word newspaper interview with N. Mirqurbonov, Prorector of the Uzbek SSR Pedinstitute of Russian Language and Literature, entitled "Symbol of Friendship" in which he comments on the poor level of knowledge of Russian by graduating secondary school students. He notes that the basic cause for this is not the shortage of teachers, but the poor quality of teaching. He acknowledges that there are no teachers in some rural and out-of-the-way rayons but insists this is not a problem on the oblast level. Rather, he thinks the poor level of teaching is due to unstringent entrance requirements and the generally inadequate physical plant of the pedinstitute. He proposes that oblast, rayon, and city education departments select and begin to train the most qualified students while they are in upper grades of secondary schools. He also points out that the Russian language departments in each oblast have not produced the desired results because they lack skilled specialists. He suggests that these departments should be relocated in large cities and cultural centers and supplied with the material and technical help they need. Finally, Mirqurbonov points out that only 40 percent of the pedinstitute's students take practicums in Center cities and that they cannot hope to ensure their skills until all students have this opportunity.

#### UZBEK EPIC ABOUT AFGHAN REVOLUTION

[Editorial Report] Tashkent OZBEKISTON ADABIYOTI VA SAN"ATI in Uzbek on 1 January 1987 carries on page 5 an 800-word review by Orif Usmonov, Senior Scientific Associate of the Institute of Oriental Studies of the Uzbek SSR Academy of Sciences, entitled "Epic about the April Revolution" in which he discusses the new epic by the Uzbek poet Muhammad Ali which was published in No. 11 issue of the journal SHARQ YULDUZI. Entitled "Revolution" the work deals in poetic form with the April Revolution in Afghanistan. Its main character is a young school teacher named Zarguna, whose brief but meaningful life ends tragically. While she supports the ideals of the revolution another character named Gulam Akhtar, with whom she studied in the lycee, is a member of a counterrevolutionary band. The reviewer notes that Akhtar is a realistic type in present-day Afghanistan, where many young men who lack political conscience fall into the snare of counterrevolutionary elements. He notes that Muhammad Ali has made a thorough study of the problems confronting Afghanistan. Ali has made friends with and translated the works of Afghan writers like Sulayman Layiq, Gulam Dastagir Panjiri, Ajmalkhan Hatak, Abdusalam Asim, and Abdulla Bahtani. Ali also lived and worked in Afghanistan for many years after the April Revolution so that he could have met in Kabul, Jalalabad, Kandahar, or Mazari Sharif many prototypes for heroine Zarguna. The reviewer concludes that such works depicting the revolutionary struggle of the Afghan people are extremely necessary these days.



## UZBEK WRITER DISCUSSES TRIP TO CHINA

[Editorial Report] Tashkent OZBEKISTON ADABIYOTI VA SAN"ATI in Uzbek on 9 January 1987 carries on page 7 a 1,700-word article by Uzbek writer Hamid Ghulom entitled "The Road from Heart to Heart" in which he discusses his trip to the Chinese People's Republic in a delegation that included the Soviet writers Daniil Granin, Yegor Isayev, Fazu Aliyeva, and Sergey Abramov. The group arrived in Shanghai by steamer and then traveled to Peking in the company of several Chinese writers, including Lu Yangshou and Bai Hua. In Peking, the Soviet delegation held a series of talks with Chinese writers at the Chinese Writer's Union.

Ghulom remarks that the conflicts between leaders and incorrect actions and misunderstandings in economic, political, and diplomatic fields that characterized Sino-Soviet relations from the end of the 1950s to the beginning of the 1980s also had negative effects on literary ties between the two countries. He reports that during their talks Chinese writers spoke of the terrible consequences of the "Great Leap Forward" and the "Cultural Revolution" for the Chinese intelligentsia. While the "Gang of Four" was in power, art and literature were repressed and numerous writers suffered grievously. Lu himself was sent to work at hard labor in mines in the cold northern regions. However, according to Ghulom, Soviet and Chinese writers never lost hope for improved relations between the two countries, and now their hopes are being realized.

Ghulom discusses what is being done in the PRC in regard to translating and publishing Soviet literature. According to Professor Liu Nin, Director of the Institute of Soviet Literature under the Peking Pedagogical University and Chief Editor of the journal "Soviet Literature," over 400 works by Russian and Soviet writers have been printed in Chinese in the last 5-6 years. Ghulom notes that while in Peking and other large cities, they met hundreds of people who study Russian, read books in Russian, or translate from Russian into Chinese. He points out that his own novel "Eternity" has been translated and Odil Yoqubov's novel "Conscience" has been published in Chinese.

Ghulom states that during their talks at the Chinese Writer's Union, the Soviets spoke about the debates at the 8th Congress of Soviet Writers on the problems of restructuring, environmental protection, and social ills. Upon their return to Moscow the Soviet writers agreed on the need to provide translations of Soviet works on urgent, modern themes, and also laid plans for the publication of a 40-volume series on Chinese literature to be published by the Khudozhestvennaya Literatura Publishing House.

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ZASLAVSKAYA WRITES ON SOCIOLOGY OF RESTRUCTURING

PM231440 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 21 Apr 87 Morning Edition p 3

[Interview with Academician T.I. Zaslavskaya, president of the Soviet Sociological Association, by Ye. Manucharova: "The Guarantee of Success Is Our Own Actions"--date, place of interview not stated]

[Text] [Manchurova] Tatyana Ivanovna! The editorial office is continuing to receive responses to your earlier items. People are concerned about whether there are real guarantees that the restructuring process which has begun in the country will not be reversed in time. How would you answer that question?

[Zaslavskaya] I would say that the sole guarantee of the establishment and development of the ideas of restructuring is our own actions and deeds, our social behavior. "No one will deliver us--nor god, nor czar, nor hero. We will win liberation by our own hand," "The International" asserts. Since it was written, the specific content of the people's struggle has changed radically, but the basic idea remains true.

Liberation, the purification and perfection of social relations, is not a commodity which is produced somewhere "overseas" and awaits export. There are no "Varangians" to invite in, to carry out the restructuring for us and on our behalf. [Reference to episode in early Russian history when the Slavs supposedly invited the Varangians to govern them] Only conscious activity by the people and by all the social groups which go to make up the people will decide the real fate of the restructuring.

This means that there are not and cannot be any automatic guarantees of success that are "external" to our activity. But "internal guarantees can be created. They include the accelerated sociopolitical development of the people and the widening of the range of people who are prepared to fight for the restructuring to the end, to the final victory. In the process of our society's further development there could (I would like to say--should) come a turning point when a return to the old order will become inconceivable--first and foremost because the people will not permit it.

[Manchurova] You use the words "we" and "the Soviet people" as if all people were more or less identical and therefore acted identically. But in your earlier articles the emphasis was on the diversity of the interests of classes, strata, and social groups. Has something changed?

[Zaslavskaya] No. It is simply that now I have deliberately simplified the real picture. In fact the structure of our society is made up of many groups which hold different positions and have different (sometimes opposing) interests and goals which they fight for. That is how things are in all spheres of life--in culture (remember the "fighting on the barricades" by the cinematographers, the "bloody" struggle within the illustrious theater collectives, and so forth), in the economy (disputes about the expansion of enterprises' economic rights and the relationship between territorial and departmental management), in ecology (the siting of enterprises which severely pollute the environment), and so forth.

Naturally, we see the same clashes in the sphere of the restructuring of social relations (even more here than in other spheres). The restructuring is taking place in the interests of the main bulk of the working people, the majority of the people, but it very seriously affects the interests of the minority, which is far from inclined to surrender.

[Manchurova] But surrender it must. What is most important for victory?

[Zaslavskaya] I have to repeat that the main condition of victory is the development of the people's social self-awareness. The flow of our social life has speeded up sharply and become a torrent. Imagine a ship which is sailing along the coastline in a calm, and then takes to the open sea and finds itself in a zone of rapid currents. Before, it was sufficient to have the captain and a few officers of the watch on deck, and the others could rests. Now continuous, unflagging attention is needed from the entire crew, and every sailor must be in command of the situation.

That is how the conditions of our society's life have now changed. Therefore it is extremely important for not only the leaders, but also ordinary workers, kolkhoz members, and intellectuals to understand their place and role in the restructuring, perceive their own true interests (long-term, not immediate), and join in the conscious struggle for their attainment.

[Manchurova] These are very general formulations and not everyone will be able to understand your analogies. The active role of leaders in the restructuring is doubtless clear to everyone. But by no means every ordinary person understands what he himself can do. What really depends on any individual?

[Zaslavskaya] What depends on him? To put it briefly--everything. In other words: The ultimate fate of the restructuring. Every person, be he a worker, kolkhoz member, or teacher, in the conditions of a rapidly changing society, should have an adequately developed social self-awareness...

[Manchurova] Let me interrupt. What does that term mean?

[Zaslavskaya] Social self-awareness is the ability, the potential, the capacity of a person, group, or society to perceive the flow of social life as the clash and struggle between social interests. Between the interests of groups and strata which have different positions in society and are in complex relationships and interaction with each other.

Without an understanding by the working people of the real sociopolitical basis of social life, without the development of their social self-awareness, one can hardly expect the majority to give active support to the restructuring. In that case you cannot count on the true democratization of society, either. It is the developed social awareness of ordinary people which is the main guarantee of the irreversibility of progressive social changes.

The vast majority of the population are people engaged in practical work, not leadership work. Their opinion and behavior play an exceptionally important role. If the greater part of the people have a precise understanding of the content of their own interests, they will not allow society to "backslide" toward the limitation of democracy. And, conversely, people who do not understand their own role in the processes of social development are usually inclined to tolerate what happens, in whatever direction the changes go.

"Who are we to fight?" "What can we do?"--that is how they put it, typically. Many such people passively and at the same time impatiently await changes for the better for themselves, as a result of work done by others. ("If they are having a restructuring, why is there still no meat in my refrigerator?"--such people often ask.)

I am convinced that the decisive factor in the success of the restructuring will be the collective will of all citizens. Including those who have not yet clarified their attitude to the process of improvement of social life or taken a clearly defined place "in battle formation." After all, the social passivity of a huge mass of people is by no means a neutral factor, but a factor which actively retards the restructuring.

[Manchurova] How is social self-awareness formed?

[Zaslavskaya] In the course of history--if we are talking about the people. But for each individual, it happens like this. By acting, working, tackling his own problems in life, a person deepens his "involvement" in the social life around him and his understanding of its structure (the levers which can be used to achieve the desired result).

The degree of socialization of different people is certainly far from identical. At one pole there are people who do not know what they are doing and what is being done around them, like Chekhov's "plotter," or alternatively who are very well read but do not know about real life, like Don Quixote de la Mancha. At the opposite pole there are the strong leaders, there are the modern-day "schemers" of the Ostap Bender type. But the majority of people--this is the way of the world--occupy an intermediate position between these poles. They cannot fully control their own fate--first and foremost because they do not know the situation, cannot see their allies and opponents, are not aware of their own true interests, and do not understand the true interests of those who oppose them.

Interest--in general--is a key word in the problem of social self-awareness.

[Manchurova] Its formation begins, does it not, when a group becomes aware of its own social position, its own interests?

[Zaslavskaya] Yes, but interests can remain concealed for a long time, finding no outward expression--not only in real actions, but even in words. Basically in this condition people themselves do not clearly understand what changes will make things better for them and what changes will make things worse. It is therefore possible to "impose" alien interests on them in the guise of their own.

But concealed interests gradually become pressing. They wake up, so to speak, and come to life. Sometimes this happens under an outside influence, but more often it happens under pressure from life itself, the main school of our social education. When interests are understood and are clearly expressed in words, it is hard to deceive people.

Interests which people understand and of which they are aware require outward social expression. The social group therefore finds or identifies in its own milieu a spokesman for its interests, defenders of those interests. As a result, every politician usually expresses the interests of corresponding social groups.

[Manchurova] Do you have in mind the interests of the working class, the peasantry, and the intelligentsia?

[Zaslavskaya] No, I am talking about far more fragmented groups. After all, the real structure of our society does not correspond to that deliberately simplified formula--"two classes and one stratum."

In 1921 Lenin enumerated five different social structures in Russia, each of which consisted of several strata and groups. The question arises: Should there be more or fewer "good and different" groups and strata in the developed socialist society as compared with the transitional period? It is my profound conviction that there should be more. That is a general law of all development. What grows must necessarily become more complex. Look around you, and you will see many tens, if not hundreds of groups and strata occupying substantially different positions in society and the national economy.

[Manchurova] One or two examples, please.

[Zaslavskaya] As many as you like! Very highly skilled workers, whose technical equipment is measured in hundreds of thousands of rubles. Cleaners who wield mops and brooms. Workers on the conveyor belt. Economic leaders as the actual managers of public property, subdivided, in turn, into a number of strata--from the chairman of a small kolkhoz to the general director of a huge association. Diplomats and foreign trade workers who spend most of their lives abroad. Rural seasonal construction workers, the so-called "shabashniki," who work for many months at a time far from their homes. Trade workers who have access to goods in very short supply. Material and technical supply workers, with their special opportunities. Minor office workers with very modest wages. Operators in the "shadow" economy. Servicemen of various

ranks. Government officials in the capital. The "sovereigns of the people's thoughts and feelings"--writers, artists, directors, painters. Rural inhabitants and doctors...

At first sight it appears to be only a question of professional groups, but in reality they are social groups, because they are distinguished from each other not only by the type of work they do, but also by more profound indications: for instance, their place in the organization of social labor, level and sources of income... Naturally, every such group has its own interests as well as the common interests.

[Manchurova] And this is no mystery to science? Sociology studies the position and behavior of all the groups?

[Zaslavskaya] It is not yet studying them, because it does not have the resources. But it certainly should study them. The restructuring urgently requires it. Without a knowledge of the true structure of our society we will not be able to understand who is slowing things down, whose interests have come into conflict with the restructuring. Why measures which seem to be necessary to everyone are implemented in a form that is distorted beyond recognition. It is necessary to study the nature, the social mechanism and origins of such deviations.

The increasing complexity and differentiation of society, on the one hand, intensify the diversity of the "mosaic" of group interests, while on the other hand they require special work aimed at strengthening the common interests of all strata and group, so as to ensure their cohesion and therefore their ability to set major goals and achieve them.

[Manchurova] Can the sociologists say what the distribution of forces is at present? How it is changing as the restructuring proceeds?

[Zaslavskaya] There have recently been many attempts to clarify this through sociological studies. These are extremely necessary. In order to check the initial hypotheses about the forces which promote or hamper the restructuring. In order to clarify ideas about the corresponding groups (their composition, position, methods of realizing their interests, motivations). It is very difficult to do such studies, and therefore the results obtained are as yet fragmentary and not very reliable. I will answer your second question too. The restructuring influences people's position not only by the end results, but also by its very progress--as a process developing through time. The point is that for a significant proportion of people the stability and reliability of the forms of social life have an independent value. Many people find the breaking of traditional relations and their replacement with new, unaccustomed forms painful.

At the same time establishing new social relations smoothly requires much time, in the course of which the old problems are usually exacerbated and many new ones arise. All this affects people's lives, especially the lives of workers in the state and economic management of the economy.

In this connection the total duration of the period of transformations is extremely important. The transformations must not be dragged out, but at the same time they must not be spurred on excessively rapidly.

[Manchurova] More detail, please.

[Zaslavskaya] In principle restructuring can be carried out either rapidly and radically or gradually. The first option (the implementation, at a stroke, of radical reform of social relations) is, it seems to me, fraught with certain dangers. Chief among them is that science will not be quick enough to provide the necessary backup, and the practical transformation will once again follow the "trial and error" method.

Moreover, where there is haste, real changes could be replaced by bureaucratic reports, really transforming activity by pseudoactivity and the fulfillment of "half-hearted" indicators. (The experience of the mass dissemination of the collective contract offers many examples of this kind.) This seems paradoxical, but the bureaucratization of the very process of democratization of society is a very real threat. As a result the fundamental ideas of the restructuring could be compromised.

But dragging out the restructuring threatens equally great dangers. This can be seen, for instance, from the Hungarian experience. The fact that individual changes were incorporated in the economic machinery there not on a comprehensive basis and at long intervals meant, in the scientists' opinion, that it was not possible to achieve a qualitative improvement in the economic management system, and reduced the overall effectiveness of the reform. Dragging out transformations can cause dissatisfaction in people, and in some conditions a gradual retreat from the goals set and the "dying away" of the restructuring.

I think the optimum strategy presupposes first and foremost the profound scientific study of questions of principle and the formation of a reliably substantiated concept covering all the basic elements of the reform. That is the first thing. The second thing is the relatively rapid (over 1-2 years, or at the most 3) comprehensive transformation of the system of socioeconomic relations.

One important prerequisite of the choice of the most effective strategy for restructuring will be the implementation of methodologically sound, authoritative sociological studies of social groups. Broad discussion of the results of such studies will help to deepen society's social self-awareness and develop democracy. True democracy, realized in practice, and not merely formally recognized by the law.

[Manchurova] What exactly is meant by this? Everyone knows that the word "democracy" is translated as people's power, but what have we really lacked? What must be in the power of every member of society?

[Zaslavskaya] First of all, his own fate and development. Not only in the economic sphere, but also in the political and spiritual spheres.



[Manchurova] "He alone is worthy of life and freedom who every day goes to war for them?"

[Zaslavskaya] The great poets are always contemporary... Thus the struggle of group, collective interests is a natural, useful process which alone can ensure the realization of social interests. It is a sign of the times that this process has become evident: People's interests have been revealed and have clashed openly, and therefore development has become more rapid. At the same time the processes of development of the masses' social self-awareness have speeded up, because this requires, above all, energetic social activity, even struggle. The more complete the openness in these vital struggles, even for those who do not participate directly, the more rapidly the social self-awareness of society and all its groups will develop. For instance, a struggle is under way over the diversion of the rivers. North and South, Siberia and Central Asia are in conflict. Naturally, the interests of a huge number of people are behind the assertions of their representatives. The southerners need water, but the northerners need it too. How important it would have been to reveal in good time the social aspects of this confrontation and to make the debate about the rivers public, popular, and open.

It seems to me that the newspapers, radio, and television are now becoming, one may say, the main socializers of the people's awareness. Socially relevant and truthful newspaper articles make very good reading. Everyone reads articles like that, talks about them, discusses them, and as a result society's self-awareness becomes more active from day to day.

It is particularly important for authors, in describing complex social phenomena, to reveal their mechanisms. The whole country saw this from the "Okean" affair and the crimes connected with cotton. We saw the true interests of the groups and gained a more profound understanding of the real structure of our society. And that is, of course, far more complex than the textbooks usually portray it.

Social television programs, like "The 12th Floor," and television linkups are certainly useful. It is good that these programs have "feedback": After seeing the reaction of different groups, you understand better "who is who" and, in particular, where the real danger of our society falling back into stagnation lies.

I am absolutely convinced that we will not take so much as a step forward without openness. At the same time it should not be assumed that openness is in itself a sufficient condition of restructuring. Unless bold, clear, and open words are accompanied by deeds, the restructuring will be swamped by talk.

/7358

CSO: 1800/583



SOCIAL ISSUES

TENACITY OF CONJUGAL TRADITIONS IN CENTRAL ASIA PONDERED

PM121701-Moscow SOVETSKAYA KULTURA in Russian 10 Feb 87 p 6

[Yu. Kuzmina and M. Polyachek article under the rubric "Judge for Yourselves":  
"Mullah for the Wedding, Lawyer for the Divorce"]

[Excerpts] Judicial practice shows that the young families that break up most frequently in Central Asia are the ones created according to all the rules of the Shari'ah and the will of parents, when the young people scarcely know one another prior to the wedding. At the same time, most marriages are still celebrated with Islamic rituals: after registration at the Civil Registry Office and the one minute silence at the Eternal Flame, the wedding party makes its way home, where the Mullah recites surahs from the Koran and proclaims the young couple man and wife. But this does not signify the beginning of family life. Kaytarma then comes into operation--a custom whereby the young wife remains at her parent's home until the agreed bride-money is paid in full.

Consequently, despite loud public condemnation, despite the Criminal Code, and despite the whole modern way of life, is bride-money still an immutable condition for the creation of a young family?

Maybe so, but bride-money is no longer what it used to be. In bygone times young girls were virtually sold in exchange for sheep and other livestock, chests containing rolls of material and festive robes, carpets, and even money. Now the benefits for a bride's parents are few. Today's bride-money essentially involves contributions of money and goods by the parents to set up the new family: a refrigerator, television set, washing machine, and at times even a car. Household furniture and dresses for the bride. All this seems to guarantee a certain initial level of prosperity for the young family.

But if bride-money has essentially ceased to be bride-money, why is it still a criminal act? Could it be simply because it is still classified as a crime? Its existence is an open secret--everyone knows about it, everyone participates, but no one officially admits his involvement in this "shameful" phenomenon.

Many jurists with whom we talked in traditionally Islamic regions believe that serious contradictions have developed between practice, life itself, and the law on this issue. It is not such a complicated matter to settle them; all

that is needed is to introduce the practice of marriage contracts. This suggestion has been made not just in Central Asia: a proper legal marriage contract could prevent property disputes in divorce cases.

But what is the secret of the amazing tenacity displayed by numerous traditions and rituals, partly generated and partly only exploited by religion? Is it not the fact that they have successfully adapted to changing conditions in society's life, as if fitting in with them and often changing their contents for the sake of preserving their form and name? And does it not happen that, without noticing or altogether ignoring this changed content, atheists continue to struggle against the form and name?

A law is ineffective if it is not perfect, a ban is ineffective if it is not properly thought out. And is it always necessary to apply the power of laws and bans where traditions and rituals are concerned?

It is obvious that numerous examples can be cited. But these examples are also not sufficient, because they all involve matters that appear insignificant, petty, not appropriate for any report of victory. At times neither the authors nor those around them are aware of the far-reaching consequences of such acts. And yet it is the daily routine, everything that man encounters day in and day out, that provides the breeding ground for the development of religious or atheistic feelings.

Fortunately, life is also full of perfectly optimistic examples, which also provide food for thought.

Until quite recently, mixed marriages with Muslims were virtually impossible. Now there are a great many mixed marriages, and this no longer surprises anyone. But let us look more closely: The overwhelming majority of cases involve girls leaving the country's European part to marry men residing in Central Asia, rather than the other way around. Why is this? Could it be that the flexible female nature finds it easier to adapt to even fundamentally new conditions?

/12913

CSO: 1830/490

GEORGIAN DIVORCE RATE LOWER THAN NATIONAL AVERAGE

Riga SOVETSKAYA LATVIYA in Russian 23 Jan 87 p 4

[Interview with Nina Zhvaniya, deputy chairman of Tblisi Gorispolkom by N. Mamatsashvili, time and place not specified, under rubric, "Pressing Problems: An Expert Opinion": "Why There Are So Few Divorces in Georgia"; first paragraph is source introduction]

[Text] Nearly a million divorces per year is a lot, even for a country as enormous as ours. But there are also "islands of calm" in this turbulent sea. In Georgia, for example, the divorce rate, even in the most vulnerable first year of marriage, is one quarter the national average. Nina Zhvaniya, deputy chairman of the Tblisi Gorispolkom shared her thoughts on this subject with us.

In general, the peoples of the Caucasus place a high value on the family and children -- it's their tradition. Of course, today patriarchal family relations have long been a thing of the past for our republic's population, the majority of whom are city dwellers. At the same time, while, for example, in the European area of our country newly married couples aspire to live in their own apartment, in Georgia many young couples prefer to live with their parents. And the advantages of living together evidently outweigh the disadvantages. Parental help, particularly in child rearing, as well as a timely and well-intentioned words of wisdom have the capacity to defuse family conflict. But parents are not the only ones who strive to make the lives of young couples easier. Government agencies are also devoting a great deal of attention to the issue of strengthening the family.

[Question] What are the latest trends in Georgia, and particularly in Tblisi, in providing aid to families?

[Answer] Several years ago the gorispolkom adopted a resolution concerning the establishment of a city family service, which would have various departments. For example, a "Marriage and Family" counseling service, a school for young families, and special interest clubs. We also attach no little importance to our "introduction to marriage" program.

[Question] OK, suppose there's a young couple who are planning to get married...

[Answer] We offer them, if they are willing of course, discussion of the moral basis of marriage. Classes are conducted by a sociologist and psychologist. They warn their students about the mistakes which can be made in the very early period of married life. A lively discussions ensues, with specific examples. For example, how would you react if your wife or husband broke your favorite cup? Or what would you do about breakfast if the wife must be at work 2 hours later than her husband? A gynecologist and a sex therapist acquaint the young women and men, in separate classes, with the physiological side of marriage. A lawyer talks about the legal aspects of family life.

The school for young families also holds classes, which both husbands and wives are invited to attend. Classes cover both the ethics of intrafamily relationships and home economics (budgeting and cooking). Various aspects of domestic life are discussed: how to decorate an apartment, how to perform elementary repairs on furniture, and to fix a faucet...

"Problem families," i.e., those where relations are strained and divorce is possible, may receive counseling services. According to our data, every sixth couple who turns to us for help saves their marriage.

Let me add that the Tblisi family service offers workers "Marriage and Family" counseling throughout the republic.

However, it is easier to prevent disease than to cure it: and people must be trained for family life, starting when they are schoolchildren. Today, the older children in all the elementary schools of the country take a course in "The Ethics and Psychology of Family Relationships."

[Question] By the way, does the issue of bringing up children often lead to family conflicts? What help do you offer in such situations?

[Answer] Here is but a single instance. Parents may obtain counseling from experts at the Tblisi Scientific Research Institute of Pedagogical Sciences on any problem related to child-rearing. On specified days, psychologists, educators, and specialists in family education, preschool children, and hygiene meet with parents..

[Question] The first requirement for bringing up children properly is time. And where is a working mother to find this time?

[Answer] Georgia was one of the first republics in the country to give women the opportunity to work less than a full working day or week on a flexible schedule convenient to her. This creates better conditions for child-rearing, meeting family obligations, and obtaining further education. These special work schedules do not entail any loss of benefits, such as length of yearly vacation, right to paid sick leave, etc.

In addition to the nationwide government measures to aid the family in child-rearing, for example the increase of maternity leave to a year and a half, which will occur in the 12th 5-year plan, new daycare facilities to accomodate 15,000 children will be built in Tbilisi during this period.

[Question] An important issue for every family, and for young ones in particular, is that of the apartment. How is the problem of living quarters being solved in the city?

[Answer] This is indeed a major problem here. Nevertheless, the gorispolkom has been able to set aside a certain number of apartments for newlyweds. Families which have had twins, or families with 5 or more children can get apartments out of turn.

The state gives long-term credit and monetary loans to young families who join housing cooperatives to build their own house. When children are born, these loans are partially forgiven.

We are also working on a plan for building a youth housing complex (YHC). This has already had been tried in our country. Young blue- and white-collar workers build apartment houses, working mainly during their free time, and then receive apartments in them. A significant portion of those participating in YHCs are young married couples or those who are planning to get married in the near future.

9285  
CSO: 1830/470

ALCOHOL USE RISING IN UKRAINE

AU161223 Kiev RADYANSKA UKRAINA in Ukrainian 8 Apr 87 p 4

[Report by A. Krasnyanskyy, RADYANSKA UKRAINA special correspondent:  
"Let Us Subdue the 'Green Snake'! -- Notes From a Joint Board Field  
Session of the Ukrainian Ministries of Internal Affairs and Health in  
Poltava Oblast" -- passage between slantlines published in boldface]

[Excerpt] /This was a sharp and frank discussion on the struggle against drunkenness and moonshining. The board session disclosed facts that are typical of not only Poltava Oblast, but also any other oblast in the republic. These facts showed: drunkenness has not been done with; this repulsive phenomenon has sometimes moved to families, to places hidden from the public eye. And the results are the same./

1/ -- A Lull/

How deeply are formalism and habitual stereotypes rooted in ourselves and how harmful are they to the renewal of our lives! Quite recently, in the wake of the party and government decision concerning the new anti-alcohol legislation, we were confidently saying: the struggle against drunkenness, alcoholism, and the "green snake" [colloquial term for moonshine] is not a campaign; it means long and persistent work with no allowance for any relaxation.

That was less than 2 years ago, and now we can notice that in many places nothing more than reminiscences remain of the determination and inflexibility that marked the undertaking launched to heal society. What were the causes? At the board session these causes were named clearly and unambiguously: placidity and complacency.

"Unfortunately," O.Yu. Mishchernko, chief of the Internal Affairs Administration under Poltava Oblispolkom, said in his speech, "we have been hypnotized by the fine-sounding figures. Last year, the amount of vodka sold in the oblast dropped significantly, and the number of offenses committed in a state of intoxication declined. And while militiamen and public organizations were reporting on the successes they had scored in the struggle against drunkenness, we did not notice how steeply the amounts of sugar and yeast sold rose: in 1 year alone, the sales of sugar in the oblast increased by 6,000 tons compared with the previous year."

A miss! This was the laconic term used to describe the steep rise in the activity of moonshiners in the oblast by I.D. Gladush, Ukrainian minister of internal affairs; O.I. Suprunenko, senior divisional inspector at the Gadyachskiy Rayon militia station; and V.M. Kozlyuk, chief of the Medical and Preventive Assistance Administration under the Ukrainian Ministry of Health.

In reprisal to the short-lived campaign and complacency, a new wave of crimes committed under the influence of booze has risen, the practice of drinking at work has returned, resulting in industrial injuries, relaxed discipline, and more family tragedies.

And can one listen with equanimity to physicians and militiamen telling how some people, just to satisfy their mean alcoholic cravings, drink Eau de Cologne, shampoo, or various chemical preparations? How low can an alcoholic slide if he resorts to such repulsive practices?

The session also sounded the alarm: moonshining, since times immemorial considered a rural "home craft," has also infected the city. Last year, 130 pockets of moonshining were disclosed in Kremenchug alone.

After the attack against drunkenness, which was, at the outset, vigorous indeed, no one--let alone an activist or leader--was likely to take the risk and uncork a bottle in public. It seems all more fantastic and strange that, in the premises of a village soviet in the oblast, persons of leading rank were caught red-handed tippling in working time. And in Semenovskiy Rayon a woman moonshiner turned out to be a village soviet deputy...

"Drunkenness is not on the decline in motor transport, either," O.V. Voytsekhovskyy, Public Order Administration chief in the Ukrainian Ministry of Internal Affairs, told the audience. "The toll of the 172 accidents caused by drunkards at the steering wheel in Poltava Oblast last year was 22 persons dead and 193 injured. In the first 3 months of this year alone, the number of drivers arrested who were intoxicated at the wheel totaled in the oblast 700."

As we can see, the trend is obviously dangerous.

/12624

CSO: 1811/16



SOCIAL ISSUES

TWO WOMEN AWAITING TRIAL ON DRUG CHARGES

LD242144 Moscow TASS in English 1030 GMT 24 Apr 87

[Text] Leningrad, 24 April TASS--Correspondent Mikhail Abelev writes:

These two women brought here such a quantity of drugs that would be a lethal dose for 300 people. I visited them in Leningrad's "Kresty" prison. Thirty-six-year-old Anna and 43-year-old Maria are awaiting trial for preparing, storing and transporting drugs. These two peasant women from the Ukraine grew a crop of poppy last summer in their village near Kiev and brought to Leningrad more than 30 kilograms of the initial product from which addicts make a solution for injections.

Both have families, are not addicts and both have grownup children brought up in strictness and kept away from drugs. The women contend that this is their first ever offence and that they were tempted by the possibility of making easy money. Both repent and hope for leniency.

The date of the trial is yet to be announced. The matter is that in Leningrad, which is on the territory of the Russian Federation, Judicial proceedings are in Russian. But on a motion of the two women all the materials for the trial are now being translated for them into Ukrainian although both are fluent in Russian. The constitution of the USSR gives every citizen the right to demand that judicial proceedings be in his native tongue. That is why the trial of Anna and Maria has been postponed until they are able to acquaint themselves with the indictment and other documents in their native tongue.

/12232

CSO: 1812/176

**AZERBAIJAN: SHAKI RAYON SOCIOLOGICAL RESEARCH CRITICIZED**

[Editorial Report] Baku KOMMUNIST in Azeri on 22 January 1987 carries on page 2 a 900 word report by S. Afandiyev headlined "The Pulse of Life Must Beat in Science" on the operations of experimental stations and scientifically-oriented support points, groups and departments in Shaki and other rayons. He points out that "sociological studies by Shaki researchers have been quite good in ideological-political work and the prognostication of enterprise problems. But recently a formal relationship to sociological research has manifested itself in the rayon: questionnaires are poorly distributed and results are not analyzed. Examples of these questionnaires are kept in drawers in the event that they have to be shown to someone sometime. This is foreign to sociological research." In order to strengthen sociological research, he proposes that a sociology department be opened in the history faculty of the M. Gorkiy Azerbaijan State University and that an inter-rayon sociology research center be opened in either Shaki or Lankaran. He adds that "there is also a need for the organization of special sociology courses under the aegis of the Baku Higher Party School in order to perfect party workers' understanding of sociological research."

**'ABNORMAL BEHAVIOR' DEFINED AT MEETING OF SOCIOLOGISTS**

[Editorial Report] Baku KOMMUNIST in Azeri on 7 February 1987 carries on page 3 a 200-word Azerinform report on a meeting of the Azerbaijan chapter of the USSR Academy of Sciences' Soviet Sociology Association devoted to "Problems of abnormal conduct"; the report is headlined "Seminar-Meeting." M.J. Javadzade, rector of the A. Aliyev Institute for the Advanced Training of Physicians, said that "the elimination of instances of abnormal behavior and the struggle with harmful habits and remnants of the past alien to the socialist way of life and communist morality are jobs directed at activating the human factor. Abnormal behavior manifests itself in alcoholism, drug abuse, parasitism, speculation, bribery, self-seeking, anti-social ways of life, bureaucratism, love of money, and philistinism."

**UZBEK ENCYCLOPEDIA CREDITS HIGHER ACHIEVEMENTS**

[Editorial Report] Alma-Ata KOMMUNIZM TUGHI in Uighur on 11 February 1987 carries on page 4 a 1,100-word article by H. Islamov entitled "The Uzbek Soviet Encyclopedia and the Uighurs." The article notes the many articles devoted to Uighurs and Uighur topics in the Uzbek Soviet Encyclopedia, which was published as a 14-volume set in 1980. Islamov stresses that such articles show genuine commitment to multi-nationalism in the Soviet Union.

## STUDIES NOTE MORE NEWLYWEDS MOVE IN WITH BRIDE'S FAMILY

[Editorial Report] Yerevan SOVETAKAN AYASTAN in Armenian on 27 August 1986 carries on page 4 a 1,400-word article published under the rubric "Behavior and Customs" by Elde Grin and Irina Geodakyan titled "Fathers and Sons: To Live Separately or With Parents." The authors discuss the problem faced by newlyweds and the fact that the experience of many fails to live up to the unrealistic dreams they had entertained prior to marriage pertaining to how married life would be. These dreams rapidly fade as three and often even four generations live under a single roof. A total of 60 to 70 percent of newlyweds proceed directly from the civil marriage registration office to take up residence with the parents of one of the spouses. Despite some give and take in adjusting to the new situation, the young couple essentially must adjust to the already set ways of the existing family.

Studies conducted by the USSR Academy of Sciences indicate that when a couple lives with the bride's parents, life is far better for all concerned than when they live with the groom's family. It is noted that in recent years more couples have tended to move in with the bride's family, both in the Soviet Union as a whole and in Armenia in particular.

In the past the groom traditionally took his bride to his parents' home. But today newlyweds face a single paramount question: should they live alone or with parents? The authors discuss the pros and cons of living alone or with parents and briefly mention the difficulties involved in immediately setting up a separate household.

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CSO: 1830/480

## UZBEKS URGED TO STEP UP SCHOOL REFORMS

[Editorial Report] Tashkent SOVET OZBEKISTONI in Uzbek on 21 December 1986 carries on page 1 a 900-word lead editorial entitled "School Reform: Quality and Productivity" which states that the implementation of the school reform program remains behind today's demands in the republic. In particular, the pace of school construction is extremely sluggish. The fact that two-thirds of Tashkent's public schools operate on double shifts cannot fail to have a negative influence on the quality of education and the implementation of reforms. In addition, numerous enterprises and organizations are neglecting the labor education of students. For example, work places for students have been set up at only 1,072 of the 5,600 base enterprises associated with schools. The editorial states that educational organs and trade unions must show greater activism and less formalism in organizing the work of base enterprises. Improvements must be shown in the advanced training and attestation of teachers, especially in rural areas. Cadre turnover, which is largely due to the poor housing situation for teachers, continues to impede the implementation of reforms. The editorial urges secondary schools to improve their labor education to students, correct deficiencies in the organization of labor at base enterprises, sharply increase their attention to the health of students, and take steps to reduce cadre turnover.

## UZBEKS FILM DOCUMENTARY ON DRUG ADDICTION

[Editorial Report] Tashkent OZBEKISTON ADABIYOTI VA SAN'ATI in Uzbek on 16 January 1987 carries on page 7 a 200-word item by film director Shuhrat Mahmudov entitled "The Film Will Expose" in which he reports that the Uzbek Popular Scientific and Documentary Film Studio has created a film called "Boomerang" which deals with drug addiction and its terrible consequences. In order to find out what causes this disease the film makers went to Tashkent Oblast and Dzhambul Rayon of the Kazakh SSR to make the quickly produced film. Its main character is a 22-year old female addict. "Boomerang" was filmed from a script written by Vladimir Sherban, a correspondent for IZVESTIYA.

CSO: 1836/404

GEORGIANS EXPRESS THANKS FOR AVALANCHE RELIEF AID

PM151415 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 9 Apr 87 Morning Edition p 2

[Georgian leadership message of thanks for disaster aid: "Gratitude"]

[Text] This winter Georgia experienced an unprecedented onslaught from the elements. As a result of avalanches of snow and landslides in mountain regions and flooding on the Kolkhida Plain the republic's economy suffered enormous damage. There were also human casualties.

Soviet people responded to what happened as if it were their very own misfortune. From the very first days of the disaster we were aware of aid and support from every republic, kray, and oblast of the country. Letters and telegrams expressing deep sympathy and readiness to take part in the restoration work are arriving to this very day, as are contributions to the relief fund set up for the victims.

The manifestations of sincere solidarity inherent in the Soviet character and the way of life and international spirit of our people and their sense of belonging to a united family have eased our pain and given strength and confidence to the working people of Georgia who are currently gearing themselves up to face a new battle with the elements.

The Georgian Communist Party Central Committee, the Georgian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, and the Georgian SSR Council of Ministers express their deep gratitude to all citizens, labor collectives, enterprises, establishments, educational institutions, and organizations for the fraternal aid and cordial warmth they have shown.

Georgia's working people will never forget the lofty civic-mindedness and sincere support of the entire Soviet people and the courage and selflessness shown by members of the USSR Armed Services and civil aviation fliers who played an active part in rescue and restoration work in the disaster areas.

The Georgian Communist Party Central Committee  
The Georgian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium  
The Georgian SSR Council of Ministers

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CSO: 1830/478

MOSCOW TV NOTES 'CASUALTIES' OF TASHKENT OBLAST FLOODS

LD182246 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1430 GMT 18 Apr 87

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] Rapid thawing of snow and heavy showers have caused flooding in a number of foothill areas in Uzbekistan's Tashkent Oblast.

[Reporter I. Abdukhalivko, identified from caption] [Video shows swollen river, submerged houses, civilians, bulldozers] The Rivers Angren and (Yardansay) and the Tashkent Canal have swollen and frothed up. Their water level rose up literally before one's eyes, and the powerful muddy currents, having broken their banks, rushed into the valley, destroying everything in their path.

And these mudhouses have not withstood the onslaught of the elements. The inhabitants of the Bulistan Kolkhoz have suffered in particular from the flooding. Here there used to be the (Burdzhar) village; 19 of the settlement's houses have ended up under water, and the roof of this house was dragged by the current for almost 50 meters. The rural district hospital has been flooded, as well as the children's sanatorium and the kindergarten and other production premises. It is a blessing that there were no people there, they had been moved beforehand. On this kolkhoz alone 800 hectares of crops have been washed away. Overall in Pskentskiy Rayon, which has suffered the most from the elements, 3 settlements have been washed away, and 800 houses have been totally destroyed.

The impending danger was known about beforehand. Commissions which were set up to cope with the floods notified the inhabitants. This saved thousands of human lives; nevertheless, there were casualties. Nobody could have anticipated such a level of flooding. The volume of the damage is huge. The republic's government has set up a commission to eliminate the aftermath of the flooding. Drivers from vehicle transport enterprises in nearby towns have been brought here; powerful excavators, bulldozers, "Kraz" and "Belaz" vehicles do not stop for a minute their work on curbing the raging rivers. Motor vehicles are arriving from Tashkent and other towns in the republic with foodstuffs, warm clothing and tents. [Word indistinct] construction machinery, and materials for reseed-ing agricultural crops are being supplied. The level of floodwater is not dropping for the time being; the danger has not yet passed, but the working people of Pskentskiy Rayon are displaying unity, persistence and courage in their struggle against the elements.

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HEAVY FLOODS REPORTED IN KIRGHIZIA OBLAST

LD241422 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1430 GMT 23 Apr 87

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Summary] Continuous rainfall in Osh Oblast, Kirghizia, caused heavy floods in mountain rivers, and in a number of regions there were mudflows and landslides. Our correspondent V. Fedorov reports that since 5 April rain fell virtually without a stop in Bazar-Kurgan Rayon. It was particularly heavy in the (Karaslangov) mountains in the (Gretskiy Orekh) forests, where a lot of snow accumulated over the winter. All the mountain streams merge into the Karaunkur River. It is in its lowlands where the disaster area lies. The concrete supports of the bridge on the Frunze-Osh highway were swept away and many farm buildings and houses hit, leading to the evacuation of about 2,000 people. Z. Khakimov, chairman of the Bazar-Kurgan Raykom, noted that the rayon's industrial area is in the flood zone. He said that all the population, as well as party organizations, have been mobilized. There have been no reports of victims. All defensive measures were taken in advance, but a maximum of R2 million is still needed to complete a dam. [Video shows floodwater, a broken bridge, earth-moving vehicles in action, damaged telephone pylons, a partly submerged k-700 tractor, workmen setting up flood barriers]

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## WATER PROBLEMS IN AMUDARYA DELTA DISCUSSED

[Editorial Report] Tashkent SOVET OZBEKISTONI in Uzbek on 24 January 1987 carries on page 4 a 900-word article by UzTAG correspondent P. Barnashevskiy entitled "The Fate of the Aral" in which he discusses water problems arising from the drying up of the Aral Sea. He states that due to the drying up of the Aral and the complete evaporation of water along the Amudarya River great harm is being done to the republic economy. The great river delta, which at one time comprised 1.3 million hectares of cultivatable fields, is turning into a steppe and its soil is beginning to blow away. The economic loss from this process amounts to over R600 million. Moreover, in the last five years the Sarykamish Lake, which covers 3,000 square kilometers in the Karakalpak ASSR and Tashavuz Oblast of the Turkmen SSR, is losing its fish and turning into a dead basin. Scholars of the Central Asian Scientific Research Institute of Irrigation and the Uzbek SSR Academy of Sciences have reached the conclusion that all of the approximately 4.35 cubic kilometers of water brought to the lake by main collectors each year will evaporate. At the same time the Sarykamish has become heavily salinated.

Barnashevskiy states that a solution to the problem of making maximum use of the water resources in the area already exists. According to historical chronicles the Amudarya flowed to the Caspian by way of the Ozboy bed and the Sarykamish depression in the 17th century. Later, it changed direction and flowed toward the Aral. The Sarykamish dried up and turned into steppe. Twenty years ago Tashavuz and Khorezm land reclamators began to divert collector and run-off water into the Sarykamish in an effort to relieve surrounding fields from salination. Use of this water helped restore some land in northern Turkmenistan. However, as the size of the lake has grown the evaporation of its water has increased. When the lake reaches 600 square kilometers in size it will evaporate entirely. Furthermore, 14 million tons of salt are emptied into the lake each year and soon the salt content of the water will reach maximum level (14 grams per liter). Scholars claim that if collector and run-off water were diverted into the Amudarya delta the Sarykamish Lake could be revived and its water used to irrigate 300,000 hectares of natural pasture land and to grow 20,000 tons of fish annually. They warn that if the process of soil erosion is not stopped it could lead to disastrous ecological and economic consequences and deepen the problems along the shores of the Aral Sea.

Barnashevskiy notes that the construction of a canal for the diversion of collector and run-off water to the Amudarya delta continues to be delayed. Already in 1984 leaders of the Institute for Water Problems signed documents that confirmed the need to design and construct a system that would collect run-off water along the middle course of the Amudarya and Syrdarya Rivers, create running water systems in the deltas of these rivers, and then use this system to solve water problems in the area. Thus far neither design work nor construction has begun. Meanwhile the negative effects of the drying up of the Aral increase. Barnashevskiy is critical of the USSR Ministry of Water Resources, which for the last 20 years has not participated at all in the solution of the Aral Sea problem, and urges the Institute for Water Problems to speak decisively on the question of a canal. He notes that all scholars of national and republic scientific research institutes who have taken part in the study of problems in the Aral and Amudarya delta agree that the ecological situation in the region has reached a critical stage.

#### DRYING UP OF ARAL RUINS LOCAL ECONOMY

[Editorial Report] Tashkent OZBEKISTON ADABIYOTI VA SAN'ATI in Uzbek on 16 January 1987 carries on page 2 a 2,600-word article by Ma'ruf Jalil entitled "The Sea That is Fleeing its Shore" in which he discusses the negative consequences of the drying up of the Aral for the local economy and inhabitants. In a recent visit to the Karakalpak SSR he spoke with writers and officials who told him that as the Aral disappears Nukus and other cities and villages in the region will become like ghost towns. Moreover, due to the increasing salt content of the water in the sea, crops are being ruined, trees are dying, and livestock are starving without grass. Soon, they feel, the local inhabitants will be forced to move away. In the city of Muynak on the shores of the Aral, Jalil saw these processes already in effect. Most of the city's population relied on fishing and the canning industry. However, with the dropping of the water level and its increasing salination most of the fish are gone. Three of the city's five canneries are shut down and the other two operate only by importing fish from other lakes and even from the Far East. Fishing boats lie in harbor, their crews out of work. Many people in the city have already moved to Kazakhstan, the Urals, and elsewhere. Jalil warns that the problems occurring here will soon affect other places, particularly in the areas of the Sayrkamish, Sudochoye and other lakes, and the Amudarya delta. The salt content of the water in those basins is increasing so fast that soon it may prevent fish from spawning. He also points out that this problem affects people's health, particularly since it is difficult to provide drinking water to the population.

#### UZBEK TELEVISION STATION BROADCASTS RECEIVED IN AFGHANISTAN

[Editorial Report] Tashkent SOVET OZBEKISTONI in Uzbek on 6 January 1987 carries on page 4 a 100-word item from UzTAG entitled "The Energy of Installation Workers" which reports that the radio transmission television station being built outside of Uchkyzyl near Termez has reached 350 meters and is scheduled for commissioning at the end of 1987. Viewers in Surkhandarya Oblast as well as in the northern provinces of the DRA will be able to receive broadcasts from this station.

#### AFGHAN UZBEK FOLKLORE TO BE PUBLISHED

[Editorial Report] Tashkent SOVET OZBEKISTONI in Uzbek on 16 December 1986 carries on page 3 a 400-word item by UzTAG correspondent N. Grebenyuk entitled "'The People's Pearls'" To Be Published in Tashkent" in which he reports that the Gafur Gulam Publishing House soon will release a collection of Afghan Uzbek collected by the Afghani Fayzulla Aymaq, a graduate student at Tashkent State University. He is the first to collect the folklore of the nearly 4 million Uzbeks living in Afghanistan who, like other small nationalities, did not have the opportunity to express their national life prior to the April Revolution. Fayzulla Aymaq says that he especially values a song about a soldier who died defending his homeland against the Basmachis. During his stay in Tashkent Fayzulla has translated works by Gorky and Fadeyev into Dari and, with his wife, has dubbed into Dari the film "Kokand Episode" at the Uzbekfilm Studio.

#### CONSTRUCTION OF SUKH DAM BEHIND SCHEDULE

[Editorial Report] Tashkent SOVET OZBEKISTONI in Uzbek on 30 January 1987 carries on page 2 a 400-word article by G. Gorelik, spokesperson for the press center of the Uzbek SSR State Committee for Water Resources Construction, entitled "Obstacle to the Dam Construction" in which he reports that the subcontracting Gidrospetsstroy Union, which is charged with drilling and dynamiting work, is behind its schedule at the site of the Sukh Dam project. Plans call for completion of the basic construction in 1988 and the damming of the river by the end of this year. When completed the dam will rise 87 meters and form a large reservoir on the Sukh River. Its projected 5 million cubic meters water will make it possible to irrigate 52,000 hectares of new land and improve the water supply to 135,300 hectares.

#### PROGRESS REPORT ON TUPALANG RESERVOIR CONSTRUCTION

[Editorial Report] Tashkent SOVET OZBEKISTONI in Uzbek on 9 January 1987 carries on page 1 a 100-word item from UzTAG entitled "Artificial Sea" which reports that a complex at the Tupalang Reservoir has been turned over for use. Thus far 10 million cubic meters of water have been gathered in the reservoir being built in Saryasya Rayon of Surkhandarya Oblast. When construction is finished in 1992 the reservoir will hold half a billion cubic meters of water and make it possible to reclaim nearly 30,000 hectares of land and irrigate almost 100,000 hectares of already cultivated land in the steppe rayons.

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## BRIEFS

TELEPHONE NETWORK EXPANDED IN TaSSR--Two new automated telephone exchanges have been put into operation, one in the village of Shakhristan serving 700 subscribers and the other in the village of Nofarodzh serving 100 subscribers. Specialists from the Pendzhikent "Tadzhiksvyazstroy" Construction and Assembly Administration and the Ura-Tyube communications center performed the assembly and start-up work on the new facility, which has improved communications in this part of the rayon, where more than 20,000 people reside. Three large sovkhozes are now interlinked, namely the Shakhristan sovkhoz, the sovkhoz imeni Dilshod, and the sovkhoz imeni Khamzy. Lines are now in place connecting dairy complexes, field machinery, and village soviets. The main thing is that the telephone link with Ura-Tyube has been improved. The extent of telephone service in this zone has been nearly doubled. [Text] [Dushanbe KOMMUNIST TADZHIKISTANA in Russian 3 Apr 87 p 4]

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END